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ABSTRACT

This monograph reviews the history of Scots and Scotch Irish settlements in Connecticut from the 17th century to the present. Intended primarily for adult readers, the pamphlet is part of a series of curriculum guides about ethnic groups in America. Historical information was obtained from oral histories, church and military records, and consultations with scholar-specialists. Written exclusively in an expository style, the pamphlet analyzes how conditions in Connecticut affected Scottish Americans, the ways in which they made an impact on Connecticut affairs, the situations in Scotland which prompted Scots to emigrate, and some cases in which citizens of Connecticut have influenced events in Scotland. Specifically, content includes 15 biographies of Scottish Americans, maps showing the origin of Scottish immigrants, roles of Connecticut Scots in the American Revolution and Civil War, and the Presbyterian church in Connecticut. The monograph concludes with a list of Scottish American fraternal organizations in Connecticut. (DL)

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SCOTS & SCOTCH IRISH IN CONNECTICUT

A History

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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The Peoples of Connecticut
Multicultural Ethnic Heritage Project
Number Five

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This monograph is part of "The Peoples of Connecticut" Multicultural Ethnic Heritage Studies Series.

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A teacher's manual, *Learning about The Peoples of Connecticut*, 1977, is available.

Other titles in the series are:

Armenian Studies for Secondary Students, 1975

The Irish: In Their Homeland, In America, In Connecticut, 1975

The Italians: In Their Homeland, In America, In Connecticut, 1976

The Jews: Their Origins, In America, In Connecticut, 1976

The Puerto Ricans: On the Island, On the Mainland, In Connecticut, 1976

Curriculum guides and monographs on other Connecticut ethnic communities are in preparation.

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FOREWORD

As R. D. Laing remarks in *The Politics of Experience*,

> "If we are stripped of experience, we are stripped of our deeds; and if our deeds are, so to speak, taken out of our hands like toys from the hands of children, we are bereft of our humanity. We cannot be deceived. Men can and do destroy the humanity of other men . . ."[1]

It is precisely this being stripped of their experience and that of their forebears that has occurred in so many instances to members of ethnic groups in the United States. No Americans have experienced this more than people of Scottish and Scotch Irish ancestry.[2] Not only are Scottish Americans frequently stereotyped incorrectly by others, but many Americans of Scottish origins have also encountered a lack of knowledge about their ethnic background even among their own kin.

This publication is a history of Scots and Scotch Irish in the State of Connecticut from the seventeenth until the twentieth century. This is the first time that this topic has been systematically researched, and it is hoped that the information compiled here will contribute to our cultural understanding.

The material in this publication is derived from three main types of sources, for which appreciation is due. The documentary evidence was collected at seven institutions.

The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
The Connecticut State Library, Hartford
The New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven
The Scottish Library, Edinburgh Public Library, Scotland
The Scottish National Library, Edinburgh, Scotland
Sterling Library, Yale University, New Haven
The Wilbur Cross Library, The University of Connecticut, Storrs

The officials of three churches kindly allowed access of their historical records: Calvary Presbyterian Church, Enfield; The First Presbyterian Church, Hartford; and The First Presbyterian Church, Stamford. Thanks are due to the members of the staffs of these parishes who patiently answered historical questions during the preparation of this booklet.

The second main source of background information has been a series of conferences on Scottish Studies and consultations with scholars who specialize in this field. In particular, Dr. Charles Haws, Director, Institute of Scottish Studies, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia; Dr. John MacQueen, Director, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh; and Prof. Basil Skinner, Director, Extra-Mural Department, University of Edinburgh contributed good advice and warm hospitality.

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[1] R. D. Laing, *The Politics of Experience*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1967, p. 29.

[2] Scots or Scottish refers to people from Scotland, itself; even if they came to Connecticut by way of Canada. In earlier times they often called themselves and were referred to as "Scotch." The Scotch Irish are people of Scottish extraction who came to Connecticut from Ulster or Northern Ireland. Admittedly, in colonial times they often referred to themselves as "Irish" and they are considered "Ulster Scots" in Scotland today. But their chief historical organization in the United States uses the term "Scotch Irish;" so it has been adopted in this booklet.

The third, and perhaps the most important source of understanding about Connecticut Scots is a series of "oral histories." A half dozen of these were compiled by the Federal Writers' Project in the late 1930's and are now in the archives of "The Peoples of Connecticut" Project at The University of Connecticut, Storrs. An additional six new "oral histories" were compiled especially for this investigation, and sincere gratitude is due to these Scottish American respondents who have graciously shared their personal experiences in this way.

The Rev. David Campbell, Bolton, Ct.
Mrs. Robert H. Field, Brooklyn, Ct.
Mr. Robert John McKeon, Glastonbury, Ct.
Mr. John MacLeod, Lowell, Massachusetts
Mr. John MacRae, Stratford, Ct.
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peebles, Stamford, Ct.

A sabbatical leave and a study grant from the University of Connecticut Research Foundation made it possible for the author to devote time to this project, visit many places in Connecticut in order to photograph sites, and spend several weeks in Scotland. Most of all, the loyal support of my wife and children has made this ethnic study a joy to undertake.

The present edition of this booklet is a "pilot" one in order to make this historical information available. New data and corrections for any errors that may have slipped in will be appreciated. Reports from educators about how they have used this historical survey of Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut will be especially welcome.

We would also like to express our deep appreciation to Ætna Life & Casualty of Hartford for undertaking the responsibility for printing this guide.

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DEDICATION

For my wife, Barbara, and David, Ruth, Beth and Priscilla who are all part of the Scottish heritage by birth or adoption.

SCOTS AND SCOTCH IRISH IN CONNECTICUT

AIM

A comprehensive perspective of the role taken by people of Scottish extraction in the development of Connecticut from colonial times to the present will be presented. This will include analyses of how conditions and opportunities in our State affected Scottish Americans, the ways in which they made an impact on Connecticut affairs, the situations in the country of origin that led Scots to emigrate and settle in New England, and some cases in which citizens of Connecticut have influenced events in Scotland.

Objectives

This monograph should contain the information that is needed in order to answer a series of study questions.

1. When did Scottish and Scotch Irish settlers begin coming to Connecticut? At what age did they usually immigrate? Were they single men, women, or family groups? From what parts of Scotland and Ulster did they come?
2. When did subsequent Scottish immigration to Connecticut occur?
3. What caused these people to immigrate?
4. What were their occupations?
5. Where in Connecticut did they locate? What Connecticut communities contain groups of Scottish Americans?
6. Did Scottish people immigrate to Connecticut from places other than Scotland and Ulster? Did they migrate from Connecticut to other places in the United States? Did they emigrate to other countries from Connecticut?
7. Have there been any Gaelic speaking Scottish or Scotch Irish settlers in Connecticut?
8. Have speakers of Lallans or Lowland Scots settled in Connecticut?
9. Were Scottish immigrants literate when they came to Connecticut?
10. What schooling had these immigrants received in Scotland or Ulster before immigrating to Connecticut?
11. Where had the university graduates among them earned their degrees?
12. What role did Connecticut Scots play in the American Revolutionary War of 1776-1781?
13. Were there Loyalists of Scottish extraction in Connecticut?
14. Were Connecticut citizens of Scottish extraction involved in the War of 1812?
15. To what extent were Connecticut citizens of Scottish extraction in the Army of the Republic during "The War of the Rebellion" or Civil War in 1861-1865?
16. Were citizens of Connecticut with Scottish ancestry involved in reconstruction after the Civil War?
17. What proportion of the population of Connecticut was of Scottish origins at the time of the first national census in 1790?
18. What are the available statistics regarding people of Scottish extraction in Connecticut during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?
19. With what religious organizations have people of Scottish extraction in Connecticut been affiliated?

20. What leadership has been furnished to ecclesiastical bodies in our State by Scottish Americans?
21. In what educational activities in Connecticut have Scottish Americans engaged?
22. What commercial and manufacturing enterprises in Connecticut have been developed by Scottish Americans?
23. Have Scottish Americans in Connecticut been active in organized labor?
24. What have been the political roles of Scottish Americans in Connecticut?
25. What voluntary organizations have Scottish Americans established in Connecticut? Are these usually ethnic "in-groups" or "multicultural?"
26. What have been the relationships between Scottish Americans and other ethnic groups in our State? The English? Welsh? Yankees? Irish? American Indians (Native Americans)? Afro-Americans?
27. Has any impact been made on the Scottish scene by Connecticut people?
28. To what extent are Scottish Americans in Connecticut an "ethnic community?"
29. To what extent are Scottish Americans in Connecticut "assimilated?"
30. Are Scottish Americans in Connecticut in any sense "unmeltable" or a "minority?"

SCOTS AND SCOTCH IRISH IN CONNECTICUT

The location of Connecticut has always facilitated immigration into the area. Among the many settlers who have come to the Nutmeg State are people from Scotland and Scots from Ulster or Northern Ireland. Most of these Scots and Scotch Irish who came to Connecticut during the colonial era had landed at the neighboring ports of Boston or New York, although several towns in Connecticut were also busy seaports at this time. Some Scottish immigrants could come directly to New Haven or New London, Saybrook or Middletown, for example. Others probably migrated here from the more extensive Scottish or Scotch Irish settlements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey or Pennsylvania. We know that some came down from Nova Scotia Colony, moved here from Upper Canada or came from points in the South such as places in Virginia or North Carolina where there were many Scottish people.

The earliest statistics regarding the number of people of Scottish background in Connecticut were compiled after the Revolutionary War. They show that out of a total population of 232,236 living here in 1790, 6,425 people claimed Scottish origins. Being based on the names of the heads of families, however, this information is only a very rough estimate. Although Scottish Americans then accounted for only 2.8 per cent of the population, which was then 96.2 per cent English; as by far the largest non-English group they constituted Connecticut's first white minority.

After 1790, there is a long gap in the data about foreign-born Scots in Connecticut, but this information does exist for eight decades, beginning in 1860.

1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
2,546	3,238	4,157	5,992	6,175	6,750	7,487	10,013

It must be recognized that these figures do not include the first or subsequent generations born of Scottish parents in our State. The many Scotch Irish immigrants from Ulster are also omitted. In 1930, 37,000 Canadian immigrants were also tabulated as residing in Connecticut, some of whom must also have been of Scottish ancestry. It is therefore safe to conclude that Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut are considerably more numerous than the census statistics indicate.

According to the fifteenth census of the United States in 1930, Connecticut residents who were either born in Scotland, or were the children of at least one Scottish-born parent then numbered 22,727. Among the twenty-six ethnic groups which were identified by the census takers, Scottish Americans were the twelfth largest group, accounting for 2.2 per cent of the "foreign, white population."[1]

It is unfortunate for our purposes that the United Kingdom is used as the "country of origin" in more recent census data. This makes it impossible to differentiate among English, Scottish Scotch Irish and Welsh immigrants during the last forty years. In 1970 there were 29,975 persons who had come from the United Kingdom residing in Connecticut. Bridgeport, Greenwich and Stamford had more than a thousand each of these former British subjects, and groups of them numbering more than five hundred lived in Hartford, Manchester, Milford, New Haven, Norwalk, Waterbury and West Hartford. People of first and second generation United Kingdom ancestry, those whom the census

[1] Samuel Koenig, *Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics*. Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Education, 1938, pp. 14, 17 and 25.

bureau terms our "foreign stock population," were 71,532 in Connecticut in 1970.[2] Not all of these people are Scottish by any means; but a portion of them must be.

This difficulty in obtaining census data about Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut illustrates a larger problem. Since colonial days there has been a strong tendency for the Scottish heritage to be assimilated by the dominant "Anglo" ideology in our State, created by people of English ancestry. Yet, immigrant Scots and Scotch Irish have never conceived of themselves as being English. The extent to which they consider themselves British or "North Britons" is also questionable. They made their impact on Connecticut as Americans of Scottish or Scotch Irish background, and in several cases made contributions to their land of origin as Connecticut Scots; so it seems only fair that we study Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut along with the many other peoples of our State.

The Colonial Era

It is well known that a portion of the earliest settlers of New England were ethnic Scots. Cotton Mather, the famous Puritan clergyman, for instance, asserted that there were four thousand Presbyterians among the some 21,200 immigrants who came into the area before 1640. While not all of these Presbyterians were Scottish, most of them must have been and a few of them undoubtedly came to Connecticut.

One of the early Scots who came to Connecticut was Deacon William Douglas, who was born in Scotland in 1610. He married Ann Mattle at Ringstead, Northhamptonshire, England, probably in 1636, and emigrated from there in 1640 with his wife and two children, Ann and Robert. At first they settled at Gloucester, Massachusetts where Douglas practiced his trade as a cooper. They later moved to Boston and Ipswich, and in 1659 Douglas bought a house on New Street in New London, Connecticut where he and his family moved in 1660. He bought another house on meeting-house hill that same year, and later also owned two farms near the town. Douglas must have been well educated, for in 1662 he was appointed an appraiser of property, and later became town recorder and moderator. He was the official sealer and packer in 1673 and 1674. He was also chosen to be a deputy to the General Court in Hartford in 1672 and re-elected several times. After coming to New England, three more children were born to the Douglases, so their posterity today are many. William Douglas died in 1682 at the age of seventy-two.[3]

It is often difficult to identify early Scots in Connecticut because most of them joined the Congregational Church, which was then the established religion of the Colony. For many years, other church bodies were not long tolerated within its borders. One reason why many people who had been Presbyterians in Scotland or Ulster wouldn't hesitate very long about becoming Congregationalists here was the Saybrook Platform. This document was adopted by twelve ministers on September 9, 1708 and enacted by the General Assembly of the Colony the following month. The Confession of Faith which it reaffirmed was the same one that had been adopted earlier at Boston in 1680. The articles of agreement drawn up by the English Congregationalists and Presbyterians at London in 1691 were also included, making Connecticut Congregationalism semi-Presbyterian in organization

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[2] Thomas E. Steahr, *Ethnic Atlas of Connecticut*, 1970. Hartford: American Revolution Bicentennial Commission of Connecticut, 1976, pp. 54-55, 110-111 and 166-167.

[3] Charles H. J. Douglas, *A Collection of Family Research with Biographical Sketches*. Providence: E. L. Freeman and Company, 1879.

until 1784. Some people have jokingly referred to the arrangement as being "Presbygational." The Congregational Church remained the legally established religion in Connecticut until 1818.[4]

Most Scottish settlers in Connecticut simply became Congregationalists. That is what happened to a Scot named Isaac Magoon who came to an outlying part of Windham about 1700. He named the community that he formed there Scotland, in honor of his native land. A Congregational Ecclesiastical Society was formed there in 1732, and Scotland was incorporated in 1857. Similarly, Nehemiah Manross, who was related to the noble Manrose family of Scotland, adopted Congregationalism after he bought sixty acres and settled at Bristol in 1728.[5]

[4] M. Louise Greene, *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905, p. 150. It was asserted that the Saybrook Platform " . . . contains the essentials of the Church of Scotland, or Presbyterian Church in America, particularly, as it gives decisive power to Ecclesiastical Councils and a Consociation consisting of Ministers and Messengers, or lay representatives, from the churches, is possessed of substantially the same authority as a Presbytery." Hartford North Association, 1799, quoted in note a, p. 150.

[5] Arthur H. Hughes and Morse S. Allen, *Connecticut Place Names*. Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1976, p. 507; and Carleton Beals, *The Making of Bristol*. Bristol: The Bristol Public Library Association, 1954, p. 7. Scottish settlers came to other Connecticut communities early in the colonial period as well. For example, Thomas Ranney, " . . . said to have been from Scotland" was a pioneer in Middletown. He and his wife, Mary Hubbard, had five children after their wedding in Middletown in 1659. Ranney died in 1713 and "was the first person buried in the oldest grave yard in the Upper Houses." *History of Middlesex County, Connecticut, with Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men*. New York: J. B. Beers and Company, 1884, p. 65.

Among the most interesting early Scottish immigrants to Connecticut were two brothers, Neil and Allan MacLean. They came from the Island of Coll in Argyleshire, Scotland. Neil, who was born about 1702, became a doctor and came to America in 1736. He settled in Hartford where he practiced medicine. A year after landing, Dr. Neil MacLean married Mrs. Hannah Stillman Caldwell, the daughter of a merchant who had come from London, England about 1680. The couple had six children before Hannah's death in 1755. Dr. MacLean later remarried with a Mrs. Knowles, who died in 1756 without having given him any children. The MacLean family home was located near the main road to Bloomfield, in what was then the rural countryside. Dr. MacLean, who died in 1784, was described as:

> . . . a noted physician of extensive practice, a man of refined education, great dignity and ease of manner and of uncommon benevolence of heart.[6]

Dr. Neil MacLean's younger brother, Allan, was born in 1715. He followed his brother to the New World, sailing from Newport, Glasgow on July 22, 1740 and landing in Boston on September 17. He also went to Hartford, where he soon established himself as a merchant. Soon, however, Allan encountered misfortune. He married Mrs. Susanna Beauchamp, the daughter of another Hartford merchant, in 1741, but his bride died the next year and is buried in the cemetery located behind the Centre Church. Business disasters followed, and MacLean was financially wiped out; explaining what had happened to him by saying, "the Yankees were too cunning for me."[7] Allan MacLean served the English as a Lieutenant and Commissary officer stationed at Stillwater, New York during the French and Indian War. When he came back from the war, MacLean bought a tract of land in what was then called North Bolton and is now a part of Vernon, Connecticut. He had remarried a Mary Loomis, whose parents lived in Bolton, and two daughters and two sons were born to the couple. Allan died in 1786 and Mary Loomis MacLean passed on in 1790. Their tombstones can still be seen today in the old cemetery in the eastern part of Vernon. Allan's reads:

> Here lies the body of Mr. Allan MacLean who died April 9, 1786, in ye 71st year of his age.
>
> A sweet remembrance of the just,
> Shall flourish while they sleep in dust.[8]

There are many people in Hartford, Machester, Simsbury and Vernon who are MacLean descendants. George P. McLean, who was the Republican Governor of Connecticut in 1901-1903 came from this pioneer Scottish family, and was a United States Senator from 1911 until 1929.

In these cases, the Scottish settlers in Connecticut had wed English wives and became Congregationalists in their new country. Sometimes, however, groups of people who had strong Presbyterian convictions had to leave Connecticut in order to practice their faith. One example of this is a band of people who were led to the village of Westchester, New York by Thomas Pell of Fairfield,

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[6] John J. McLean, *A Brief History of the Ancestry and Posterity of Doctor Neil McLean of Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.* Palmyra, N.Y.: -, 1900, p. 21.

[7] Mary McLean Hardy, *A Brief History of the Ancestry and Posterity of Allan MacLean* (1715-1786), Vernon, Colony of Connecticut. Berkeley, California: Marquand Printing Company, 1905, p. 34.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

Connecticut. They were able to establish a Presbyterian Church in the New York Colony, as did another group from Greenwich, Connecticut who went to Rye, New York.

The officials of the New York Colony were not always hospitable to Scottish and Scotch Irish Presbyterians, however. The arrest, imprisonment and trial of the Rev. Francis Makemie illustrates this fact. Makemie, a Presbyterian minister of Scottish parentage who was born at County Donegal, Ireland in 1658, came to America as a missionary in 1683. Together with another Presbyterian clergyman, John Hampden, he stopped over in New York, where the English officials favored the Anglican faith. The two men were on their way from Philadelphia to Boston in October 1706. Makemie was invited to preach in a private home, while Hampden conducted open air services at Newtown, Long Island. Their acts are reminiscent of the field and house conventicles of the Scottish Covenanters, that were legally prohibited by the British government in 1677.

Makemie and Hampden were immediately arrested and hailed before the Governor, Lord Cornbury. Makemie was kept in jail for six weeks and finally tried in June, 1707. He was acquitted of wrong doing; but he had to pay all of the costs of both the defense and the prosecution, which amounted to the huge sum of eighty-three pounds. A lengthy account of the whole episode was printed in Boston, where the people generally sympathized with the Presbyterians. Many people in Connecticut must also have heard or read about these exciting events.[9]

On the other hand, Connecticut also wasn't very hospitable to three Scottish clergymen who came here to propagate the Anglican religion. These missionaries had been sent by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London. The first of them, the Rev. George Keith (1638-1716) grew up in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and got his Master's degree at Marischal College of the University of Aberdeen in 1662. Keith later became a Quaker, and after 1684 he came to America as a traveling minister, the Surveyor General of East Jersey, and a teacher at the Friends' School in Philadelphia. However, Keith eventually turned to the Church of England and in 1702 was ordained as an Anglican priest. April, 1702 found him on board a ship as a traveling representative of the S.P.C.K. bound for New England.

The ship's chaplain joined Keith in his new mission, and after spending some time in Boston, these two Anglicans came to New London, Connecticut in September, 1702. They were entertained here by Governor Winthrop and welcomed by the local minister, the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, who allowed them to hold a service in the Congregational meetinghouse, using the liturgy of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. This controversial event created a sensation, causing debates throughout the Colony. Keith and his companion, however, were soon on their way to preach Anglicanism in more hospitable climates farther to the south.

There was a small group of Anglicans at Stratford, Connecticut at about this same time. They appealed to their Church for a leader, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary at Rye, New York was sent to them. He was another Scottish university graduate, a teacher named George Muirson (1675-1708), who had been ordained as an Anglican priest. Accompanied by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, the first Lord of the Manor of Scarsdale, New York, Muirson rode into Puritan Stratford with his saddlebags full of Anglican prayerbooks. Muirson also made several other

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[9] William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943, pp. 256-8.

PLACES IN CONNECTICUT ASSOCIATED WITH SCOTS AND SCOTCH-IRISH

trips to Stratford during the next three years, but the Connecticut magistrates refused to let him use the local meetinghouse. They threatened to fine Muirson and to put him in jail, along with anybody found associating with him.

In the face of these threats, an Anglican parish was organized in Stratford in 1707. It had no settled priest, but in 1710 another Scotsman, John Sharpe, the chaplain of the fort at New York, spent three weeks in Connecticut. He visited Stamford, Norwalk and Fairfield; as well as Stratford. However, Anglicans were still being forced to pay their taxes in order to maintain the Congregational clergy and meetinghouses. Sometimes they were thrown into prision or harassed in other ways. Finally, in 1708 the Connecticut General Court voted to permit "sober" dissenters, after formally declaring their faith, to support their own places of worship. Of course, they also still had to pay their taxes to the established parishes. It is interesting that three Scots were instrumental in planting the Episcopal Church in Connecticut.[10]

Several of the Scottish ministers who came to Connecticut during the colonial era became pastors of Congregational Churches. One of the most famous of them was the Rev. James Hillhouse, a Scotch Irishman. Hillhouse had studied arts and divinity at Glasgow University, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Londonderry, Ireland. He came to America soon after 1717, probably along with some of the other Scottish immigrants from Ireland who established the towns of Derry and Londonderry in New Hampshire. The Rev. Hillhouse was invited to become the pastor of the second parish in New London, Connecticut, a community that is called Montville today. He began his work there on October 3, 1722.

Although some dissension arose regarding his views in 1735, and Hillhouse applied for admission to Presbytery at that time, he was able to remain as pastor of the second parish until his death in 1740. The Rev. James Hillhouse was the forebear of the Hillhouse family that has long been prominent in New Haven history. His son was William (1728-1806), and one of his grandsons, James (1754-1832), was the Treasurer of Yale College for fifty years and administrator of the School Fund of Connecticut. This James Hillhouse was also a member of the second Congress of the United States in 1790, and served three terms in the United States Senate, a total of fourteen years. Hillhouse Avenue and Hillhouse High School in New Haven are named after him.[11]

We know that James Hillhouse was not the only Scottish clergyman in colonial Connecticut. Another was the Rev. John McKinstry, who had been born at Brode, on the eastern shore of Antrim, Ireland, near Carrikfergus, in 1677. McKinstry received his Master of Arts degree from Edinburgh University in 1712. Six years later, this young minister arrived in Boston; landing there on August 4, 1718. The town of Sutton, Massachusetts elected him its pastor in 1719, and then in 1733 he came as pastor of the church at East Windsor, Connecticut, which is now known as Ellington. McKinstry had married Elizabeth Fairfield of Wenham, Massachusetts in 1722, and they had seven children; four

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[10] Nelson R. Burr, *The Story of the Diocese of Connecticut: A New Branch of the Vine*. Hartford: Church Missions Publishing Company, 1962, pp. 16-20. See also, James Arthur Muller, "George Keith", *Historical Magazine* 13(2), June 1944, pp. 94-106; and Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith, 1638-1716*. New York: , 1942.

[11] Henry A. Baker, "Rev. James Hillhouse of New London and His Family", *Magazine of New England History* 1(2), April, 1891, pp. 92-97; Charles Knowles Bolton, *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America*. Boston: Bacon and Brown, 1910, pp. 112-118; and Leonard Bacon, *Sketch of the Life and Public Services of Hon. James Hillhouse of New Haven*. New Haven: -, 1860.

boys and three girls. The oldest house still standing in Ellington today is the one that he built for his family. John McKinstry died in 1754 and lies buried in the Ellington cemetery.[12]

The McKinstry House in Ellington, built in 1730.

James Hillhouse's widow, Mary Fitch, married the Rev. John Owen of Groton, as her second husband, and there is some speculation that he may also have been Scottish. As her tombstone proclaims, she "spent her life near the altar" and her third spouse was the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, who was probably born in Scotland about 1685. His family was believed to have been French Huguenots, originally D'Orrance, who settled at Sterling after fleeing from their homeland in 1598. Dorrance's father was also a Presbyterian minister who had to escape to Ulster with his family during the religious persecutions under King James II. Samuel Dorrance received his M.A. degree from the University of Glasgow in 1709 and was licensed to preach at Dumbarton in 1711. He served a church at Coleraine, Ulster for eight years.

Late in 1719, Samuel joined his three brothers, George, James and John in emigrating to America. Together with some other relatives, the Dorrances bought and outfitted a small ship, which they manned themselves and sailed to New England. This whole group of immigrants settled in the vicinity of Voluntown, Connecticut, in Windham County near the Rhode Island border. The people living in this area obtained permission to tax themselves in order to erect a church and call a minister in 1721. Considering that the group of Scotch Irish settlers lived nearby, it is not remarkable that it

[12] Ethel Stanwood Bolton, *Immigrants to New England, 1700-1775*. Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1931, p. 135f.

was decided to install the Rev. Samuel Dorrance as first pastor of this parish in 1723. On the original Voluntown Church roll containing about forty names are those of Samuel, George and John Dorrance, John Dorrance Jr. and Alexander and Robert Gordon, their relatives.

What was unusual for colonial times was the fact that a Presbyterian Church was organized at Voluntown under Dorrance's leadership. It is clear that the Presbyterian convictions of the Dorrance clan were strong, and in 1760, when the church members were considering becoming Congregational, Samuel Dorrance preached to them a sermon on "The Divine Authority of Elders." He continued to be the pastor of this Presbyterian Church until 1770. Apparently, divergence from the Connecticut religious establishment caused considerable criticism. A contemporary commentator is quoted as saying:

> In Voluntown there is one Presbyterian parish. This sect has met with as little Christian charity and humanity in this hairbrained community as the Anabaptists, Quakers and Churchmen (Anglicans). The "so be dissenters" of this town (as they style themselves) will not attend the funeral of a Presbyterian.[13]

The Church Samuel Dorrance served in Voluntown as it looks today

[13] Alexander Blaikie, *A History of Presbyterianism in New England*. Boston: Alexander Moore, 1882, p. 83f. The information about Samuel Dorrance and his brothers is derived from A. A. Dorrance, *The Dorrance Family in the United States: A Partial Record*. Coldwater, Michigan: W. C. Bailey Press, 1901; and John D. Morrell, "The Descendants of Rev. Samuel Dorrance". Typed manuscript prepared in 1948, in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford. There is a discrepancy in these documents regarding whether Samuel Dorrance immigrated to the United States with two or three brothers.

The furor must have been too great, for after Samuel Dorrance's death in 1775, the Voluntown Church finally became Congregational in 1779. In 1726, Dorrance had married Elizabeth Smith, and the couple had eight children, of whom seven reached adulthood. It was after Elizabeth's death in 1750, that Samuel remarried Mary Fitch Hillhouse Owen in 1755, but no children resulted from this marriage. Several of the Dorrance children moved to Pennsylvania, but five of them stayed in the Voluntown area, so there are many of their descendants in eastern Connecticut.

There was only one other effort to found a Presbyterian Church in colonial Connecticut. This was the attempt to establish the Ulster Presbyterian Church at Milford, Connecticut in 1737. A Scot, the Rev. Samuel Findley, was invited by this congregation to be their minister in 1741. But no sooner did Findley arrive in Milford than he was arrested and fined as a vagrant, and then ejected from the community for disturbing the peace. This "vagrant" who was considered to be so contemptible by the Milford magistrates later became President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). No more attempts were made by Scottish groups in Connecticut to establish Presbyterian Churches for a century.[14]

Due to a fascinating series of letters written to Governor Winthrop by his brother-in-law, Thomas Lechmere of Boston in 1718, we know that there were attempts to attract some of the skilled Scotch Irish immigrants to the Connecticut Colony at that time. Governor Winthrop had asked his Boston relative to help him locate a miller.

On July 28, 1718 Lechmere wrote:

> Shipps are coming in horly, but no news; Irish familys enough; above 200 souls are come in allready, and many now hourly expected; so that I wish you were here; they are none to be sold, have all paid their passages sterlg in Ireland; they come upon some encouragement to settle upon some unimproved Lands, upon what other Towns I known not.

However, the landing of the Scotch-Irish was also being chronicled by the *Boston News-Letter*, whose next issue carried an advertisement.

> Sundry Boys times for Years by Indentures, young women and girls by the year, portable Linnen, Woolen and Beef to be disposed of by Mr. William Wilson at his warehouse in Merchants Row, Boston.

Apparently, Lechmere had been observing the upper classes of immigrants, where the skilled craftsmen would naturally be found, but there were many poorer people in the group as well.

The second immigrant ship from Ulster arrived in Boston on August 4, 1718. It was the brigantine, Robert, whose master was James Ferguson of Glasgow and Belfast. Lechmere then wrote to Governor Winthrop in Connecticut:

> I have this day according (to) yor directions made Enquiry after a miller, 7 a Vessel comeing in this day from Scotland, I find there is a young fellow of about 24 years of age . . .[15]

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[14] Blaikie, *A History of Presbyterianism in New England*, p. 84.

[15] Bolton, *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America*, pp. 133-135.

Winthrop replied, however, that the young miller whom Lechmere had found as too expensive. Lechmere then assured the Governor that he couldn't be obtained for less because these were all "men of Estates" who had been promised many acres of land free if they would settle on the borders as a barrier against Indian attacks. As a result of Governor Winthrop's decision, apparently none of this group of Scotch Irish settlers came to Connecticut. These incidents, however, provide a very good insight into the conditions under which many pioneer Scottish immigrants came to America in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While some were educated intellectuals, and others were skilled craftsmen; many of the immigrant Scots were unskilled workers who indentured themselves in order to better their conditions. Others had been "transported" after military defeats, and came to Connecticut as unwilling exiles from their homeland.

One of the most poignant Scottish immigrants to Connecticut during the colonial era arrived on our soil only after his death. Today, on the eastern shore of Indian Pond where Connecticut Route 361 passes through the town of Sharon, there is a memorial to David Bruce, a native of Edingurgh, Scotland. In 1742, Count Zinzendorf of Saxony, Bishop of the Moravian Church, established at Shekemoko in Dutchess County, New York, the first Moravian Church for Indian converts in North America. This chapel was built, probably on the western shore of Wequadnach or Gnadensee (The Lake of Grace) as the Moravians called the body of water that is now known as Indian Pond. Count Zinzendorf's daughter, the Countess Benigne, married John de Watteville, and together they served at this mission post in 1748-1749.

The memorial to David Bruce near Sharon, Connecticut.

In January, 1749 they were succeeded by David Bruce. This Scot was not a clergyman, but rather was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh who had become a Moravian and was serving as an "assistant," as the Moravians called their lay brothers. Sadly, Bruce survived at Shekemoko for only about six months, dying there on July 9, 1749. His body was then rowed across the lake by the mourning Indians of his congregation, who buried the missionary on the eastern shore in Litchfield County, Connecticut. The memorial to Bruce that can be seen today was erected by the Moravian Historical Society of Nazareth, Pennsylvania in 1859 to replace the original stone that had been placed there in 1752. It reads:

David Bruce
From Edinburgh in Scotland
Minister of
The Brethren's Church
Among the Indians
Departed 1749[16]

Connecticut Scots in the American Revolution

Sometimes Connecticut people of Scottish ancestry during the colonial period had been so well assimilated into the dominant English milieu of the Colony that their Caledonian background was hardly recognized. The best example of this is Jonathan Trumbull, who was the Governor of Connecticut at the time of the American Revolution.

The original home of the Trumbulls is a community in the Scottish border country that is now called Philiphaugh. A *haugh* designated a broad plain, which in this case lay on the northern side of the River Ettrich, just below the place where it branches from the River Yarrow. This is not very far from the town of Selkirk. In the border dialect, Edinburgh was pronounced Edinbro', so it isn't surprising that the family name had a variety of written forms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Trumble, Tronbel, Trumbill, Trumbol and Trumball — to mention a few of them.

Ancient tradition, which is supported by testimony written in both early English and Scottish chronicles, provides a very interesting account of the origin of this name. The story is that it goes back to the year 1314, when King Robert the Bruce ruled over the Scots. There were then, we are told, large wild white bulls, called bisons, in the great wood of Caledonia. The King of the Scots enjoyed the sport of hunting these animals, but one of the bisons once threw him from his horse. The King's life was saved by a young Esquire who seized the bull's horns and forced it to the ground. As a reward for this act of physical courage, King Robert named the lad Turnbull, and gave him both land and money. It can't be proved that the grants assigned by Robert Bruce to "his faithful and well beloved William called Turnebul" were for this cause, but it is known that they were actually made. The name was retained by William Turnbull's posterity. It appears in the records of Newcastle on Tyne, the port from which the Trumbulls immigrated to America. The armorial bearings of the Trumbull family feature the Caledonian bull, indicating their awareness of the tradition regarding the origin of their surname.

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[16] Charles F. Sedgwick, *General History of the Town of Sharon, Litchfield County, Conn.* Amenia, N.Y.: Charles Walsh, Printer and Publisher, 1898, p. 54. See also Florence A. Marcy Crofut, *Guide to the History and Historic Sites of Connecticut*, Volume I. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, p. 433.

Scottish antecedents were part of the heritage of Jonathan Trumbull, who belonged to the third generation of descendants of New England settlers who originally landed in 1638. Born at Lebanon, Connecticut on October 12, 1710, Jonathan was the son of Captain Joseph and Mrs. Hannah Higley Trumbull. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1727 and then began studying for the ministry. Jonathan would probably have had a career as a clergyman, had not his older brother been lost at sea during a business trip. His father was by then elderly, so it increasingly fell to Jonathan to manage the family business affairs. Eventually he had to give up the ministry entirely, and in 1733 he was chosen to represent Lebanon in the Connecticut General Assembly, at the age of twenty-three.

Jonathan Trumbull was clerk of the House in 1738 and became its Speaker in 1739. He was Lieutenant in the County troop in 1735, Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth Regiment in 1739, and its Colonel in 1753. He was elected a member of the Provincial Council in 1740, and served as a judge of the Windham County Court from 1746 to 1749. Trumbull became Deputy Governor of Connecticut in 1766, and then Governor in October, 1769, when Governor Pitkin died. He was annually reelected Governor until he resigned from office in 1784.

The provincial governors of the British colonies in North America were Loyalists who sided with King George III at the time of the American struggle for independence, in most cases. Jonathan Trumbull was the only governor of the thirteen colonies who risked actively siding with the revolutionary cause. George Washington referred to him as "my brother Jonathan." Washington asserted that he could always, " . . . depend on Brother Jonathan." In these statements he was alluding to the passage in II Samuel 25:6-7 of the Old Testament, regarding the mutual devotion between David and Jonathan.

Doubtless there were many current reasons that caused Jonathan Trumbull to support American independence. The heritage of his family in the Scottish border country where there were frequent clashes with the English and constant vigilance was necessary in order to maintain freedom may have influenced his thinking, however. Trumbull had married Faith Robinson in 1735 and six children were born to the couple. As a result, many people living in Connecticut today are Trumbull's descendants. When a part of Stratford incorporated as a separate town in 1797, it adopted the name of Trumbull. This was both to honor Jonathan Trumbull's son, Jonathan, who was the governor of Connecticut at that time, and as a tribute to his famous father. At the same time, the name of the town of Trumbull perpetuates the story of that brave act done for King Robert Bruce by the first legendary "turn bull" over six hundred years ago.[17]

We know that Connecticut citizens of Scottish extraction served with the American forces at sea, as well as on land, during the Revolutionary War. The muster books from the various privateers that Connecticut outfitted to prey on British shipping contain a number of Scottish names.

Among the thirty-two men on the sloop "Guilford," for example, there was a Lieutenant William McQueen, a Gunner Timothy Andrews, the Pilot William Stuart, and a seaman, David Morris. The "Oliver Cromwell" in 1776 carried David Mackintosh as Gunner's Yeoman, and John Steuart, Seaman. Later, on the same ship, John Burns was a carpenter's mate, Shirman Lewis and Andrew

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[17] This exposition is based on a handwritten manuscript in the Trumbull File, Archives of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford. See also Robert G. Armstrong, *Historic Lebanon: Highlights of an Historic Town*. Lebanon, Ct.: First Congregational Church, 1950, pp. 28-39, where Governor Jonathan Trumbull's Scottish ancestry is also mentioned; and I. W. Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., Governor of Connecticut*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1859, pp. 25-32, where it is also asserted that the Connecticut family was a branch of the Turnbulls of Scotland.

Morris were midshipmen, John Craige was the Boatswain's mate, Abel Lewis, Peter Grant, William Ingraham, James Morris, Robert Gordon, James McVey and William Harris were seamen, and the ship's boy was Philo Lewis. On the muster roll of the "Oliver Cromwell" in 1778-1779 still other Scottish names appear. Andrew Morris is now listed as Third Lieutenant, Thomas Scott is the Quartermaster, and Eliphalet Coburn is one of the seamen.[18]

Admittedly, the attempt to identify Scottish background crew members by their surnames provides only circumstantial evidence. The muster book of the frigate "Trumbull" for 1777, however, specifically mentions that five members of its crew, out of a total of 108, were born in Scotland. Two others are identified as having been born in Ireland, and were probably Scotch-Irish.

FRIGATE TRUMBULL MUSTER BOOK, 1777[19]

Name	Place ship'd at	Place born at	age	height
Robert Halladay	New London	Scotland	28	5'9
Thomas FitzGerald	New London	Ireland		
James Jeffery	New Haven	Scotland	19	5'6
William West	New Haven	Ireland	28	5'3½
Robert Aitkins	New Haven	Scotland	19	5'4
John Brice	East Haddam	Scotland	22	5'6
Thomas Oliver	New Haven	Scotland		

The complexions of all of these men, except for West, who is noted as being "dark," are listed as "fair." The fact that all of the heights that are given are well under six feet indicates that our ancestors were shorter than are many modern Americans. A poorer diet might have influenced this; but even many contemporary Scots are relatively short.

There are many Scottish surnames listed in the *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*.[20] In order to provide some idea of the magnitude of Scottish participation, here are statistics for twenty-eight names that are frequently Scottish.

Andrews	43	Hays	19	McClure	5
Armstrong	21	Lewis/Lewiss	83	McDaniel(s)	7
Burns	8	Mack	18	McDonald	3
Campbell	15	Mackentosh	2	McLean	7
Coburn	7	Mackray	1	McNeal/McNiel	10
Colburn	9	Macomber	2	Murdock	6
Douglas	16	Manrose/Manross	3	Murray (ee, ey)	24
Frazer/Frazier	7	McClean	3	Scot/Scott	31
Gordon	12	McClellan(d)	5	Stuart	13
Harris	31				

[18] *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, Volume VIII. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1901, p. 242f.

[19] *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, Volume XII. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1909, pp. 365-8.

[20] *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in:* I. War of the Revolution, II. War of 1812, III. Mexican War. Hartford: The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1889, pp. 669-777.

Of course, many more Scottish Americans served in the American forces than are enumerated in this small sample. Purely on the basis of identifying Scottish surnames, however, it is impossible to accurately assess how many people of Scottish extraction fought in the Connecticut forces in order to establish our independence.

Not all Connecticut Scots, however, were patriots. Altogether, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, who later became President of Yale College, estimated that there were about 2,000 or 2,500 Tories or Loyalists in Connecticut at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, largely concentrated in Fairfield County. Their adherence to King George III was attributed to three factors. First, the Anglican Church had most of its strength in this region. While many Anglicans sided with the patriots, others were staunch Loyalists. As we have observed, a number of the adherents of Anglicanism were Scottish Americans. Second, the nearness of this county to New York made it easy for Tories to row across Long Island Sound if they wished to join the British. Those who served with the King's forces were promised land grants, so service with the British was appealing to some people. Finally, many of the farmers in this section of Connecticut were prosperous, and therefore believed that they had little to gain from independence.

Two pieces of evidence make it clear that there were some Scots among this Loyalist minority. In the first place, around Danbury there was at that time a group of the followers of Robert Sandeman who had only recently come to Connecticut from Scotland. These Sandemanians had been taught by their leader that it was their religious duty to obey their earthly king, while awaiting union with their King in heaven. A number of Sandeman's disciples who lived in New Haven requested the General Assembly of Connecticut for permission to sell their property and remove themselves to a place "under the dominion of the King." Their petition was granted, except for one case in which a large amount of property was involved.[21]

The second type of evidence comes from people who are known to have had to leave Connecticut during or after the Revolutionary War on account of their Loyalist sympathies. One Connecticut Loyalist named John Butler went up to the Niagara region between New York and Ontario as the War commenced. There, he organized a small band called Butler's Rangers which included a few Scots as well as Six Nations Indians. There were also Connecticut men in the Prince of Wales American Regiment of the British Army and among the Queen's Rangers. No Loyalist regiment, however, was recruited from Connecticut.

After the War a number of people had to leave Connecticut due to having been considered Tories. The Rev. Samuel Andrews, for instance, who had formerly been an Anglican clergyman in Connecticut, moved to New Brunswick, becoming the first Rector of the Anglican Church at St. Andrews, which he served for fifty-two years. Charles and Niel McNiel, of Connecticut, who had been members of the Reading Association, also were forced to leave the State. Other Tory Scots were imprisoned in Connecticut, such as Angus McDonald, arrested in New York in 1775 and confined in the Fairfield Jail. He bitterly wrote in a letter that he had expected to be treated "more like a gentleman than a highwayman."[22]

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[21] Robert A. East, *Connecticut's Loyalists*. Chester, Ct.: Pequot Press, 1974, p. 16f.

[22] Lorenzo Sabine, *The American Loyalists:* or Biographical Sketches of Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1847, pp. 125, 452, 461.

It seems, then, that most of the people in Connecticut of Scottish ancestry around 1776 sided with the Revolutionary cause, with a small minority taking the Loyalist position. After the War, about thirteen per cent of the 6,000 soldiers and heads of families whom the British moved to Nova Scotia came from Connecticut, and there were certainly some Scots among them. This small migration of Scottish people from Connecticut to Nova Scotia due to a particular circumstance is an example of a trend reversal. Usually the flow of people has been from Nova Scotia to New England, with a few of these immigrants settling in Connecticut.

Connecticut's First Bishop is Consecrated in Scotland

The scene is in a chapel hidden within a private home along one of the narrow streets of Aberdeen, Scotland. Today, November 14, 1784, the room is crowded with many Scottish adherents to the Episcopal faith, their clergy, and three of their four bishops. For this small minority in Scotland, which has been for many years persecuted by the dominant Kirk, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, is about to consecrate an Episcopal bishop for the United States of America which only recently won its independence from Great Britain by armed revolution. Standing before Bishops Kilgour of Aberdeen and Petre of Ross and Moray, along with Coadjutor Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen is a man who has come all the way across the sea from Connecticut. His name is the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, lately of the town of New London. Minutes later, Dr. Seabury turns to bless the congregation as the newly consecrated Bishop of Connecticut and also the first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

NEAR THIS SITE IN 1750
THE FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID FOR MIDDLETOWNS FIRST
CHURCH THIS BUILDING COMPLETED
CHRIST CHURCH THE PREDECESSOR
OF THE HOLY TRINITY
IN THE CHURCH THE RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY DD
OF CONNECTICUT AND THE FIRST BISHOP OF THE
AMERICAN PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH FIRST MET WITH
HIS CLERGY ON AUGUST 2 1785 AFTER HIS RETURN FROM
HIS CONSECRATION IN ABERDEEN SCOTLAND
A FEW DAYS LATER SERVICES WERE HELD FOR THE
ORDINATION OF FOUR DEACONS AND ONE PRIEST OF THE
CHURCH THESE WERE THE FIRST SUCH SERVICES OF
ORDINATION TO BE HELD IN THIS COUNTRY

The plaque commemorating the spot where Bishop Seabury met with his Connecticut clergy after his return from being consecrated in Aberdeen, Scotland.

The clergy of the new State had elected Seabury to become their bishop on March 25, 1783. Then, bearing the credentials that certified his election as well as other documents and testimonials, Seabury had traveled to London, England. There, however, the bishops of the English Church asserted that two aspects of the ordinances of their Church made it impossible for them to consecrate an American. In the first place, they argued that their acts required the consent of the civil authorities; in this case the British Parliament. And Parliament was not likely to agree to the consecration of an ecclesiastical head for the Episcopal Church in the rebellious American colony with whom they had so recently been at war. Also, the service of consecration in England required taking an oath of allegiance to the British Sovereign, His Majesty King George III. Being the citizen of a foreign State, the United States of America, the Anglican bishops claimed that they could neither consecrate Seabury, nor could he in good conscience pledge his loyalty to the British Crown.

This impasse lasted for fourteen months. Seabury at last realized that he would never be consecrated in England, and decided to turn to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as it had been suggested that he do before he left Connecticut. Dr. Myles Cooper, who had once been the President of King's College (now Columbia University) in New York City, was in Edinburgh at that time, and he presented Dr. Seabury's petition to the Scottish bishops. Previously, in 1782, the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, the son of Dr. Berkeley who had lived for some time in Newport, Rhode Island, who was then at St. Andrews, Scotland, had suggested that the Scots consecrate a bishop and send him to America, in anticipation of the War's end and an independent United States. For this reason, the idea wasn't completely a new one when Seabury appeared. The Scottish bishops were willing to act without a long delay, and twelve days after coming to Scotland, the American clergyman was consecrated.

On the day after the service, the new bishop and his three Scottish colleagues met again. They wrote, signed and sealed a "Concordate, or Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder in the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut." The Scots also gave Bishop Seabury a letter to bring back with him to the clergy and people of Connecticut. What they had done for them was recorded in this document, along with the directive for them to "further and carry on the good work which they had happily begun."

It is from Scotland, then, that the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut derives its apostolic roots. And, as Bishop Seabury was the first Episcopal bishop in the entire country, the same claim can be made for all of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Seabury's consecration in Scotland, however, opened the way for others. When three additional American clergy were elected bishops, the English hierarchy was able to overcome the previous impediments, and they were consecrated in England.[23]

A Connecticut Seaman Impressed into the British Navy

Even after the Revolutionary War had been successfully ended and American independence from Great Britain achieved, the seafaring activities of some Connecticut Scots brought them again into conflict with the British. A very tragic but fascinating account of the experiences of one of these

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[23] Samuel Hart, "The Consecration of Bishop Seabury. An Historical Sermon" in Kenneth Walter Cameron, (ed.), *Old Connecticut: Historical Papers on People, Places, Traditions and Early Anglicanism*. Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1976, pp. 73-9.

Scottish Americans who was impressed into serving in the British Navy was published in Hartford in 1814. James M'Lean, the youth who describes his experience, was born in Windsor and went to sea at the age of ten on a voyage to the West Indies. In 1796, M'Lean sailed on the brig "Michael" of Hartford, which left New London for the Caribbean Sea on August 27. A violent storm wrecked the ship, and its crew was picked up by a British merchantman, which brought them to London. From England, M'Lean made a voyage to earn some money, and then in December, 1800 he boarded a ship for Boston.

This time, however, the vessel was intercepted by a British frigate and M'Lean was accused of being a native-born Scot or Scotch Irish and therefore subject to being impressed into His Majesty's Navy. At first M'Lean refused to do the tasks assigned to him, but the captain of the British man-of-war declared, "Me noble Scotch Yankee, if you don't go to work, I'll find the means to make ye." He was then ordered to the forecastle, and placed in charge of the boatswain.

When M'Lean tried to escape in 1802, he got twenty-four lashes with a cat o'nine tails on his bare back and was put in irons. He finally found a way to send a letter to his parents in Connecticut, who had had no word from him in six years, by the United States frigate, "Essex." Again in 1803 he was lashed on charges of having tried to escape while his ship was docked in England. Two years later, in 1805, M'Lean did manage to get away, but when he was coming back to New England on a French vessel, they were again boarded by a British frigate and M'Lean was apprehended and placed in irons. This time, he was impressed into service for another six years! Finally, in October, 1814, James M'Lean was able to get back to Newport, Rhode Island and three days later he was home again in Windsor. M'Lean's account is certainly not typical of the experience of Scottish Americans from Connecticut. On the other hand, however, it does illustrate the serious injustice to which seamen of Scottish or other origins were subject during the years when they could be forcibly impressed into the British Navy, regardless of their claims to being United States citizens.[24]

Connecticut Scots in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, people from Connecticut had begun moving west in order to seek their fortunes in the virgin lands claimed by the State that stretched out beyond the Allegheny Mountains. As a result of these movements, more people who today live in the Middle West can claim colonial Connecticut ancestry than can people who presently reside in Connecticut itself. The indications are that, in some cases, these people who migrated west from Connecticut had Scottish origins. For instance, Samuel M. Hopkins, who was born in Waterbury, developed the town of Geneva in western New York. Knox College at Galesburg, Illinois also has Connecticut roots. Although its founder, the Rev. George W. Gale, was born in Whitetown, Dutchess County, New York, his parents had moved there from Stamford, Connecticut. The use of names such as Geneva and Knox strongly suggest Scottish connections.

Marietta, Ohio grew from an expedition which General Rufus Putnam led from Rutland, Massachusetts in 1787. It was joined by a band of settlers that had left Hartford, Connecticut in January, 1788. When they formally established their church in Marietta eight years later, sixteen of its

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[24] James M'Lean, *Seventeen Years' History of the Life and Suffering of James M'Lean*. An Impressed American Citizen and Seaman, Embracing But a Summary of what He Endured, while Detained in the British Service, During that Long and Painful Period. Written by Himself. Hartford: B. and J. Russell, 1814.

thirty-one original members had come from Connecticut, and one of them was directly from Scotland. It was this group that established the first school in the Ohio Territory, founded Muskingum Academy, and started Marietta College.[25]

Scottish place names are rather few in Connecticut, but one other town adopted a name with Scottish connections when it was incorporated in 1820. There are conflicting accounts of why the name, Darien, was chosen for the community located between Norwalk and Stamford. Some sources advance the theory that this name was linked with the romance of the early shipping activities on the shore and was given to the town by some sailor. Another possibility is that a wealthy and influential merchant and ship owner from this area had made his fortune trading with the Isthmus of Panama or Darien, as the Scots had called their colony in Central America. The most believable explanation, however, is that Thaddeus Bell, a resident of the community, was one of the main individuals who helped to get the town incorporated. Being of Scottish ancestry, Bell knew about Darien, and he selected this name because the new town connects the two larger communities, Norwalk and Stamford, much like an isthmus might. At any rate, Scotland's famous "Darien Adventure" is commemorated in a place name along the shore of Connecticut on Long Island Sound.[26]

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, Scots continued to emigrate from their homeland and some of them settled in Connecticut. There were several contributing factors that caused this movement. One important stimulus to emigration was a rapid increase in Scotland's population. In 1707 it numbered just a little bit over a million people. From that date until about 1755, the average annual increase was about 0.3 per cent. From 1755 to 1795, however, it was about 0.7 per cent and from 1795 to 1801 it rose to over 1 per cent a year. Once the nineteenth century began, Scotland's population grew rapidly. During the first fifty years of the new century, the annual rate of increase was over 1.1 per cent. In order to make this growth comprehensible, the entire population increase during the eighteenth century of some 560,000 can be contrasted with that of just the first half of the nineteenth century, which was 1,280,000![27]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, famines occurred in Scotland with terrible regularity. There was one in 1683, another in 1693-1700 that formed a period known as the "Seven Ill Years," and still others in 1740, 1772, 1782-1783 and 1793. Particularly in the Highland areas of northern Scotland, many people died of hunger as their corn and potato crops failed. The potatoes had been introduced as a substitute for depending on oatmeal, but, although they could be easily grown and helped make the population explosion possible, they were also subject to blight. Plagues of cholera, small-pox and typhus were also common until, by the 1830's, innoculations began to reduce their toll.[28]

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Scotland was generally miserably poor, organized along feudal lines in certain regions, and medieval in outlook. When change did arrive, however, it

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[25] Howard Allen Bridgman, *New England in the Life of the World*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1920, pp. 23, 45-7, 100f.

[26] Hughes and Allen, Connecticut Place Names, p. 107. See also *Darien, 1641-1820-1970; Historical Sketches*. Darien: Darien Historical Society, 1970.

[27] Donald Farquhart MacDonald, *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850*. Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1937, p. 5.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

was more sudden and violent than in many other parts of the British Isles and Europe. The modernization of agriculture eventually reduced the numbers of farm workers who were needed and the introduction of sheep raising made small holdings unprofitable. As the industrial revolution swept over lowland Scotland, along with rapid commercial development, thousands migrated from the Borders and Highlands to settle in the towns and cities of the more prosperous lowlands. Between 1841 and 1851, some 50,000 Scots went south to England. Already uprooted from their original homes, it is not surprising that many of these people eventually responded to the lure of the New World, and immigrated to Canada and the United States. Connecticut wasn't the destination of most of them, but a number of Scots did settle in our State during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Another cause that contributed to this movement was the "Highland Clearances" by which many crofters were put off their land in order for it to be used for sheep raising. In 1791, for example, the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge reported that in the previous twenty years sixteen ships full of immigrants had sailed from the western parts of Inverness and Ross Counties alone, with 6,400 people.[29] Some of these migrant Scots were seamen, and they came to Connecticut in order to work in the ports along Long Island where trade with the West Indies was booming. Others were stonemasons or skilled at cutting the slate that was used for roofing. They often settled in the Middletown and Portland area. Most of the immigrant Scots during the nineteenth century, however, were either textile workers who had learned their trade in mills such as the famous ones at Paisley, or were skilled metalworkers. While there were a few families of Scottish extraction in most Connecticut towns by the middle of the nineteenth century, the heavy concentration of Scots was in the industrial belt that stretched along the western shoreline and up the Connecticut River valley. These were no longer the farmers, craftsmen and professional people who had come from Scotland and Ulster during the colonial period, but usually either had a trade or came to work in the small factories that began to dot the Connecticut landscape.

Several shifts in agricultural production in Connecticut were related to Scottish immigration to our State. For instance, potatoes had been introduced here by Scotch Irish settlers around 1720, but they didn't become a common crop until about fifty years later. In 1767, a correspondent from Saybrook (now Deep River) informed President Stiles of Yale College that:

> We improve in potatoes in this colony exceedingly. Many farmers raise 500 (bushels) per An. I don't think myself stored without 150 bushels per An. They make butter and beef and store excellently well.[30]

The first blooded Ayrshire cattle that were brought into the United States came to Connecticut in 1822. Aberdeen cattle were also imported early in the nineteenth century. Both of these breeds were used to improve the general dairy stock in our State, rather than to establish thoroughbred herds. In fact, the notion of stock breeding along scientific lines only developed after Charles Darwin published his famous series of books beginning in 1859. Then, the Ayrshires were particularly used in connection with the Connecticut cheese industry that developed later in the nineteenth century, and was brought from New England to the Middle West. For example, the Borden Condensed Milk

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[29] John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances*. Harmoundsworth: Penguin Books, 1963, p. 19.

[30] Edward H. Jenkins, *Connecticut Agriculture*. (reprinted from *The History of Connecticut*), New York: States History Company, 1924, p. 329.

Company started in Winsted in 1863 and the Farmington Creamery was organized in 1869. Other early Connecticut creameries were in Lebanon, Wapping and Windsor.[31]

Perhaps the most important agricultural influence on Scottish immigration to Connecticut was the importing of pure-blooded merino sheep in 1802. A citizen of Derby, General David Humphrey, had been the United States Minister at Madrid, Spain. When he retired from his post, he was permitted to bring back to his farm here a flock of seventy-five ewes and twenty-five rams. These animals created a wave of interest in sheep raising, so that by 1813 it is estimated that there were 400,000 sheep in the State. The tariff on imported wool was removed around 1815, which caused a decline until 1825 when again for another twenty years raising sheep was a booming business in Connecticut. In 1840, for instance, 900,000 pounds of wool was produced by more than 400,000 sheep in the State. This wool production was the basis of starting textile mills, which attracted many Scots to Connecticut. Oats were nearly as common a crop as was corn in 1840, so there were many things in Connecticut to remind the Scottish settlers of home.[32]

Early in the nineteenth century, many types of manufacturing began in Connecticut that were either founded by Scottish Americans or attracted Scots from overseas to work in the factories. An example of this is the George Read and Company Ivory Comb Factory that was established in Deep River in 1809. Read had been born in Deep River in 1787, the son of Cornelius Read who came there from Ulster in 1769. His partners worked as laborers in the factory, but Read was the manager who looked after the finances, found markets and set the company policy. He is described as being:

> . . . a man about six feet in height, clean shaven and blue-eyed; a quiet, silent man.[33]

By 1851, George Read and Company had erected a new factory in Deep River, which cut piano keys from ivory that was imported from Zanzibar. Not only did Read develop these ivory industries; the First National Bank of Deep River was opened in his home. There, too, the Baptist Church was organized and nurtured. Read continued to exert leadership until his death in 1859.

The Thompsonville Manufacturing Company and the Kilmarnock Scots

The New England wool boom convinced a resident of Enfield by the name of Orrin Thompson that it would be profitable to manufacture yarn in Connecticut which could then be woven into carpets in Scotland. Subsequently, Thompson decided to undertake the whole process of making carpets in Connecticut. Born at Suffield in 1788, Thompson had moved to Enfield as a child and later was a merchant in Hartford and a rug dealer in New York. As a result, he had connections with Hartford and New York investors, and knew a lot about the manufacturing of carpets, which was virtually unknown in the United States at this time. He obtained a charter from the Connecticut legislature in 1828 and organized a company, in which the Scottish concern of Gregory Thomson and Company of Kilmarnock was a large stockholder. The erection of a factory was begun, and Robert Thomson, a Scotch carpetmaker was sent to Enfield in order to superintend the new works.

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31 *Ibid.*, pp. 394-7.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.

33 Daniel J. Connors, *Deep River: The Illustrated Story of a Connecticut River Town*. Stonington, Ct.: The Pequot Press, Inc., 1966, p. 27.

The site that Orrin Thompson chose was in the part of town known as "The City." Only about fifty people lived there when construction began. The new weaving shops were built along the north side of Main Street on twelve acres of land. This site was at the point where a stream called Freshwater flows into the Connecticut River, but originally water power wasn't used because all of the weaving was done by hand. This required skilled workers who could operate the shuttles and make the fabric, however, so about sixty weavers were brought over from Kilmarnock.[34]

The town of Kilmarnock, which is in Ayrshire, Scotland, between Glasgow and the Firth of Clyde, takes its name from St. Mernoc or Marnock, whom tradition credits with having founded a church there in 322 A.D. "Kil" in Gaelic signifies a cell, which is associated with St. Marnock's dwelling. In spite of these legendary origins, however, the earliest settlement at Kilmarnock seems to have been in the twelfth century. Overlooking the town is Dean Castle, the hereditary residence of the Boyd family.

Kilmarnock was a bustling and rapidly growing manufacturing center in the early nineteenth century. By 1800, it was known for the manufacturing of bonnets as well as producing stockings and woolen fabrics. Two hundred hand looms were used to weave carpets, blankets and other items. Calico printing was also thriving, and leather tanning was another local industry. The population, which was 7,000 at the turn of the century, grew to over 10,000 by 1811 and exceeded 12,500 ten years later. By 1831, it was over 18,000 and it didn't level off until after 1850. So the emigration to Thompsonville occurred during a population explosion in Kilmarnock.[35]

In the early nineteenth century, Kilmarnock was located largely along one bank of the Kilmarnock water or stream, which flowed into the Irvine River — a topography very similar to that of Thompsonville. Unfortunately, the town was subject to epidemics and plagues. In 1832, for instance, there was a very bad outbreak of cholera in which about 250 of the residents died. There was another, smaller, cholera epidemic in 1849.[36] The immediate motivation for the exodus of the Kilmarnock weavers to Thompsonville probably wasn't related to health, however. A local chronicler, James Paterson, mentions that Kilmarnock had suffered a serious economic recession in 1826.

> What is called the monetary crisis of that year fell heavily upon the town. The buildings that had sprung up as if by Prospero's wand, were lying waste and deserted. Ruin seemed to have come suddenly over the community . . .[37]

It was probably this recession that caused Gregory Thomson and Company to invest in the new Connecticut venture. The opportunity to relocate some of their surplus weavers in New England must have appealed to these Scots in this period of economic crisis.

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[34] Cornelia Brainard, "Development of the Carpet Industry in Enfield", *Historical Papers Read before the Penelope Terry Abbey Chapter of the Connecticut Society, Daughters of the American Revolution*, 1928. Photostatic copy in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

[35] M'Kay, *The History of Kilmarnock*. Kilmarnock, Scotland: "Standard" Printing Works, 1909, pp. 1-2, 16, 375, 385.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[37] James Patterson, *Autobiographical Reminiscences:* Including Recollections of the Radical Years 1819-20, in Kilmarnock, the First Election for the Kilmarnock Burghs, 1832; Kay's Edinburgh Portraits — How They were Got Up in 1837-9. Glasgow: Maurice Ogle and Company, 1871, p. 95.

The first group of weavers from Kilmarnock landed at the Thompsonville steamboat wharf near the Globe Tavern in October, 1828. They were followed by other workers from Kilmarnock, as well as many families. At first, fifty hand looms were used to produce the carpets, which were two-ply weaving. In 1833, however, a tall factory building called the "Black Mill" was erected in order to produce three-ply carpets. Forty-one looms began to produce Brussels carpets in 1842, and by 1845 the Thompsonville Manufacturing Company was operating two hundred fifty looms.[38]

Over a hundred years after the first Scottish weavers began plying their trade at Thompsonville, their descendants spoke these lines in an historical pageant.

Weaver:

You are the shuttle, my hand shall send you,
Over and under, over and under,
To and fro, across and return,
Weaving a pattern of varied hue,
Now bright, now dark, now varied, now smooth;
The threads may tangle, the threads may break,
Darkness may come, but the weaving goes on . . .

Shuttle:

Gaily I hum through the warp and the woof,
Drawing the strong new threads of my pattern;
Vibrant with youth as my work is beginning,
Shining with courage and hope for the future.[39]

Among the pioneer weavers who came from Kilmarnock in 1828 were Matthew and Janet Mair, John and Ann Angus, James and Martha Anderson, James and Jane Law, and Walter Stewart and his mother. These people, and the other Scots who followed them to Thompsonville, are mentioned in the Enfield records as "foreigners." They lived in company owned or controlled houses and boarding houses, and for twenty years after the weaving industry had been started there, Thompsonville looked like a Scottish village transplanted to the heart of New England.[40]

In July, 1833, Thompsonville was the scene of a serious labor conflict between seventy-one of the Scottish weavers and the management of the Thompsonville Carpet Company. The workers were paid by the piece for the products of their hand looms, and they complained that their wages were lower than those in other American factories. The company refused to consider their request, arguing that the profits didn't warrant a raise. The workers then held an outdoor meeting on a large field near the factory, and prepared a petition asking to be paid the wages that were due them since their last pay day. The reply from the company officials was an ultimatum to return to work by the following Monday, or have their pay scale lowered rather than increased. The workers refused to go back under

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[38] Brainard, "Development of the Carpet Industry", p. 52.

[39] Doris Campbell Holsworth, "The Loom of Faith", Presented in Connection with the Centennial Celebration of the First Presbyterian Church, Thompsonville, Conn., July 15, 1939. *One Hundred Years:* 1839-1939. Thompsonville, Conn.: First Presbyterian Church, 1939, p. 20.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

these conditions, and the company shut down the factory. In effect, then, this constituted a "lock-out" rather than a strike.

A suit was brought against the Scottish weavers by the company, charging that the laborers had conspired to damage their employer's business. By the time this case was actually heard in Superior Court in 1836, however, the weavers had long since been forced to go back to their old jobs. The company owned the looms on which the workers wove the carpets, so without their tools, the weavers had no way to earn a living. Also, their housing was controlled by the company. Within a month, when the company simply started to hire new weavers (strike breakers), the old work force was forced to go back. But the company also lost its court case where the decision was that the Scots hadn't conspired against the owners.[41]

Apparently, both sides in this confrontation learned a lesson, and subsequently the Thompsonville Manufacturing Company maintained better relations with its workers. In fact, in 1840 Orrin Thompson bought a large factory in the Tariffville section of Simsbury on the Farmington River. The Tariffville Manufacturing Company was organized, and soon textiles were being produced here, too. As a result, a second, smaller, community of Scots grew up in Tariffville. In 1842 a circular machine invented and manufactured in Belgium to produce knitted goods was set up in Thompsonville, Orrin's brother, Henry G. Thompson, soon bought the machine and erected a new factory in 1845. He also acquired land and constructed housing for his workers, known as the "Swiss Cottages," and in 1846 this enterprise was incorporated as the Enfield Manufacturing Company and also employed many Scots.[42]

Two factors, however, soon emerged to undermine the three textile companies organized by the Thompson brothers. The tariffs on imported raw materials were raised, making them as costly as the finished products. As a result, imported carpets were soon able to undersell those made in the United States. Also, the old hand looms had been outmoded, and power looms were introduced. Unfortunately, however, the old wooden weaving shops couldn't support the new heavy equipment, which also involved the payment of a large royalty. Huge amounts of capital had to be invested in the new plants and equipment, so that in 1851 the whole network of companies failed. The mills had to be closed and the two villages were deserted. The Enfield Manufacturing Company, having more modern equipment, could maintain production, but the other factories sat idle and not a wheel turned in them.

Out of these ruins, Orrin Thompson was able to organize the Hartford Carpet Company in 1854, and he was hired to be the superintendent of the Thompsonville mill until he retired in 1861. In 1859, the Hartford Carpet Company also bought the old factory in Tariffville that had been standing idle for seven years. Some of the Scottish workers returned to Thompsonville and Tariffville to take up their old jobs, but many had found other work and never came back. The final blow at Tariffville came in

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41 Jarvis Means Morse, *A Neglected Period in Connecticut's History, 1818-1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933, pp. 246-47.

42 Lucius I. Barber, *A Record and Documentary History of Simsbury*. Simsbury: The Abigail Phelps Chapter, D.A.R., 1931, p. 339; and James Wallace, "A History of the Enfield Manufacturing Company", *The Thompsonville Press* 3(48), April 19, 1883, p. 1, column 6. Contained in a typed manuscript in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

1867 when the factory there burned down and was never rebuilt. The Thompsonville mill prospered until 1901, when it became the Bigelow Carpet Corporation.[43]

The weavers who came to Thompsonville and Tariffville from Kilmarnock, and later other Scottish and Ulster communities, constituted the only organized immigration from a single place by Scottish settlers to Connecticut. For this reason, and also because of the contribution of these Scottish weavers in the development of Connecticut's textile industry and their early attempt at collective bargaining, the events at Thompsonville and Tariffville are very important. A fourth result of this new movement of Scots into Connecticut was the founding of a group of Presbyterian Churches, the first in Connecticut for over a century.

e Kirk in Connecticut

The Scots who came from Kilmarnock to Thompsonville had usually been reared as pious adherents of the Presbyterian faith of the "Kirk" or Church of Scotland. There was no Presbyterian Church in all of Connecticut in 1828, however, so the newcomers united with the Enfield Congregational Society. The records show, for instance, that Thomas Smith and his wife, Margaret, along with Woodrow Smith joined on September 6, 1835 on the basis of a letter of recommendation from the Associate Burgher Church in Kilmarnock, where Thomas Smith had previously been a ruling elder. On the same day, James and Jane Crawford Law joined too, coming from the Relief Church in Kilmarnock. In November, 1835, five more Scots became members, and two more joined in 1837. Besides the Kilmarnock churches that have been already named, they also came from the United Secession Church and the United Associates Church there, as well as one person whose previous membership had been in the Associate Congregation in Melville Street, Glasgow. Their previous religious affiliations in Scotland indicate that the people who came to Thompsonville from Kilmarnock had been affected by the controversies that raged within the Church of Scotland during the late seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This fact probably set the stage for differences of opinion among them after a Presbyterian Church was established in Thompsonville.[44]

Attending the Enfield Congregational Church was difficult for the Thompsonville Scots because, lacking transportation, they had to walk the two miles to and from services each Sunday. Also, they were regarded as "foreigners" by the Yankee Congregationalists, and longed to re-establish the customs and traditions of Scottish Presbyterianism. In 1831, a Scottish clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, offered to preach and teach in Thompsonville. He delivered his first sermon in the old baling room of the Thompsonville Manufacturing Company. The Presbyterian meetings were later held in the basement of the James Murphy store on Main Street. Mitchell left after a few weeks, and the Thompsonville Scots had to resume attending church in Enfield.

In 1834, however, a schoolhouse was built in Thompsonville, which was later converted into the Harry F. Hildritch store on Main Street. At this time, the Scottish group began hiring professors from the East Windsor Theological Institute to supply their pulpit at the school, paying them $300 a year in salary, their "keep" and feed for their horses over the Sabbath.[45]

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[43] Brainard, "Development of the Carpet Industry", p. 53f.

[44] Francis Olcott Allen, *The History of Enfield, Connecticut*. Lancaster, Pa.: The Wichersham Printing Company, 1900. Volume II, p. 1366f.

[45] *One Hundred Years: 1839-1939*. Thompsonville, Conn.: First Presbyterian Church, 1939, p. 7.

After this arrangement had been followed for four years, the Rev. Joseph Harvey, D.D. was engaged by the Thompsonville Scots to preach regularly in 1838. On June 25, 1839 he and the others in the group petitioned the New York Presbytery, which was part of the (Old School) Synod of New York, to constitute and organize a Presbyterian Church in Thompsonville. It was formed on July 5 with eighty-two original members, and received by Presbytery on July 9.

An historic photograph of the old First Presbyterian Church, Thompsonville, Connecticut.

It is interesting that the founding pastor of this first Presbyterian Church to be established in our State since colonial times was a native of Connecticut. Dr. Harvey had been born at East Haddam in 1787 and was graduated from Yale College in 1808. He then served a church in Goshen, Connecticut for fifteen years, and later was at Westchester, New York for nine years. He led the Thompsonville Presbyterians for nineteen years, until he had to resign in 1857, due to ill health. He then moved to Harvey, Michigan, a town that was named after his son, Charles T. Harvey, an inventor who designed the elevated railway for New York City. Dr. Harvey died in Michigan in 1873.[46]

The new First Presbyterian Church of Thompsonville continued to use the local schoolhouse for services, until an edifice was built for them, rent free, by the Thompsonville Manufacturing Company. The original building was forty by sixty feet, and was completed in 1841. Four years later, however, it was extended an additional twenty feet in length, and side galleries were added. Orrin Thompson also contributed the bell, furniture, communion table and a service of plate as his private

[46] *Ibid.*

gifts. In 1846, the Company also built Session Hall on Church Street, which the Presbyterians used, again without paying rent, for their mid-week meetings, Sunday school and church suppers. A district school also was housed in Session Hall. Unfortunately, these properties had never been deeded to the Church, so when the Thompsonville Manufacturing Company failed in 1851, they were among the assets that were taken over by the Hartford Carpet Company in 1854, from whom they were eventually purchased by the Thompsonville Scots.[47]

Four ruling elders; James Alexander, Robert Galbraith, James Ronald and William Liddle, together with their teaching elder, Dr. Harvey, comprised the first "Session" of the Thompsonville Church. Others who subsequently became elders were Andrew and James Sloane, James Bryson, James Anderson and Wilder C. Peace. During the early years, the congregational singing of metrical psalms was led by a precentor, either James Anderson or John Houston, without any instrumental accompaniment, just as was the custom in Scottish kirks at this time. In 1845, however, some of the choir leaders urged that musical instruments be provided as an aid to the singing. At first the Session rejected their request, but this was later reconsidered, and the choir was allowed to introduce "a bass viol or two, or an organ." This issue over the music resulted in a schism, and those who adamantly opposed all musical instruments in church formed a separate Associate Reformed, and later United Presbyterian, Church. Of the ruling elders of the Session, only James Alexander spoke in favor of the musical instruments when the confrontation took place in the schoolhouse on July 22, 1845, while Robert Galbraith, James Ronald and William Liddle all opposed the innovation.

Part of the cause of the friction in this controversy was the election of three new "pro-musical instruments" ruling elders who, with James Alexander, outvoted the opposition of three in the Session. The result was a separation among the Thompsonville Scottish Presbyterians that lasted for one hundred twenty-seven years. In 1972 they were finally reunited as the Calvary Presbyterian Church of Enfield; one of the twelve United Presbyterian Churches in the State of Connecticut today.[48]

The next Presbyterian Church in Connecticut, again organized by the Presbytery or New York, was founded at Tariffville in 1844, with the Rev. R. G. Thompson as its pastor. There is evidence, however, that not all of the Scottish weavers in Tariffville were Presbyterians, because the records of the First Baptist Church in Middletown show that an Andrew and Abigail Wallace joined the Middletown congregation from the Tariffville Baptist Church in 1844.[49]

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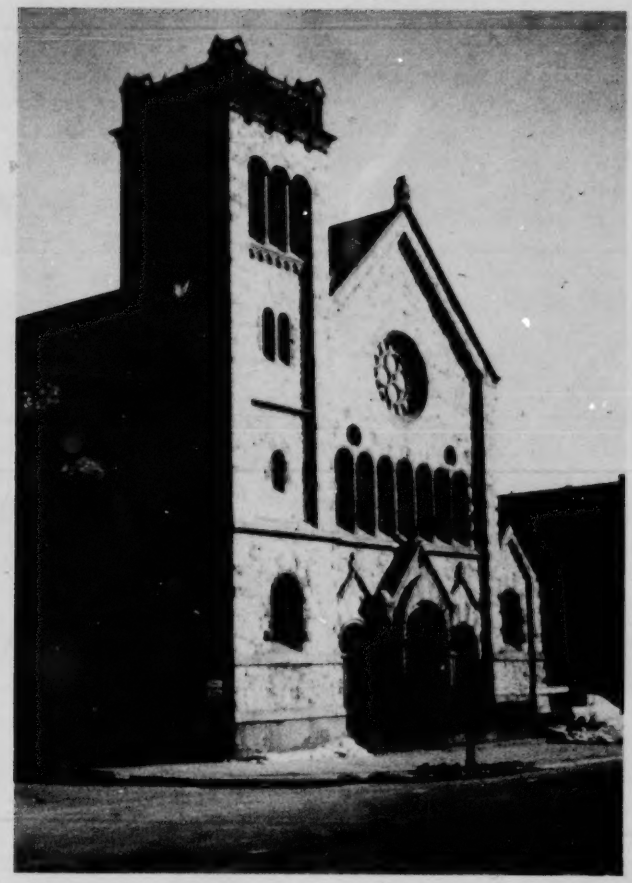
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

[48] Robert Kilditch, "History of the United Presbyterian Church of Thompsonville, Conn.", a handwritten manuscript in the archives of Calvary Presbyterian Church, Enfield, Ct., 9 pp. Also *One Hundred Years*, p. 10, and information contained in Campbell, "The Loom of Faith" Pageant. It was on October 10, 1845 that a proposal to form a new Presbyterian Church in Thompsonville where muscial instruments wouldn't be used was drawn up and sent to the Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church. On December 22, 1845 sixty-four certificates of membership were presented, and ten people joined the new congregation by profession of faith. Services were being held in the schoolhouse, and the Rev. Peter Gordon preached for this group until May, 1846 when construction began on their own building, located at School and Pleasant Streets. As soon as it was completed, Mr. Gordon was installed as their pastor, and served until 1851. His successor, the Rev. James McLaughlin, came in 1854. Tokens were used to admit the members considered by the Session to be in good standing to communion in this Church until 1879. See Marshal Molloy, "Two Churches Bridge their Century-Old Schism", *Hartford Times*, March 19, 1972, Section B, p. 2, for information about the reunion.

[49] First Baptist Church, Middletown, Connecticut, *Records:* 1795-1926. Volume III: Church Meetings 1840-1856, Annotated List of Members, p. 206.



The First Presbyterian Church, Hartford, Connecticut, built by Scots in 1866.

The Presbytery of Connecticut was established in 1850, within the (Old School) Synod of New York. Living so close to Hartford, in Tariffville, the Rev. Thompson realized that there was a good sized group of Scottish and Scotch Irish adherents to the kirk there, and brought the matter of helping them to form a congregation to the Presbytery meeting in 1851 at New Haven. Even before this formal action, Robert Calhoun, a citizen of Hartford, had gotten acquainted with the Rev. Andrew Stevenson, pastor of the Second Reformed Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1849. Calhoun invited the Rev. Stevenson to make a visit to Hartford, for which he agreed to make all the arrangements and pay the expenses. As a result, the first Presbyterian service in Hartford took place on November 10, 1850 in the Washington Temperance Hall. Calhoun had portions of the sixty-ninth, one hundred third, one hundred nineteenth and one hundred twenty-eighth psalms printed up in

Rouse's version for use during the singing at the hall. The Rev. Stevenson made two more visits to Hartford that winter, and the Rev. John Little, another "Covenanter" from New York also preached twice.[50]

Acting at the instigation of the Presbytery of Connecticut, a representative of the Board of Missions, the Rev. James Ely, was sent to Hartford. On July 13, 1851, he preached to a congregation of about seventy people who had gathered in Gilman's Saloon, on Main Street, opposite Grove Street. Soon, about sixty people were regularly meeting in the Washington Temperance Hall, on the corner of Market and Temple Streets. Later, their meetings were moved to Wadsworth Hall, at Main and Wells Streets. This congregation, with forty-seven charter members, almost all of whom had come from Scotland or Ulster, was received into the Connecticut Presbytery in October, 1851.[51]

The new congregation invited Thomas S. Childs, a recent graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, to be their pastor. Childs was ordained and installed on June 30, 1852 to serve this church, which by then numbered about seventy-five. In 1853 they bought the old South Baptist Church on the corner of Main and Sheldon Streets for $10,000. This was where they worshipped until 1866 when construction began on the present edifice at the corner of College (now renamed Capitol Avenue) Street and Clinton Street. Built in the Scottish style, using Connecticut granite and trimmed with Ohio and Portland stone, it is modified Gothic and Romanesque in appearance.[52]

Rouse's psalms continued to be sung, unaccompanied with a precentor leading, until January 21, 1852, when *The Assembly's Collection of Psalms and Hymns* was introduced, causing some opposition and the loss of a few members.[53] It was in 1861, however, that a larger controversy regarding music developed in this church. The congregational singing had been led by a voluntary choir. These singers now petitioned the Session to provide a music teacher who would instruct the congregation in singing and lead the music during services. They also requested that a musical instrument be introduced. The congregation approved of these innovations, and in December, 1861, the Session voted to allow a musical instrument to be tried out for three months as an experiment. Robert Kenyon furnished the church with a melodeon at his own expense.

This was another case, however, where the introduction of a musical instrument into the kirk caused a schism. Forty-six members who favored retaining the unaccompanied singing of metrical psalms withdrew from the church and applied to the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Boston for admission. On May 6, 1862, they organized the First United Presbyterian Church of Hartford in the Mission School House at the corner of Park and Squire Streets. Dr. Childs had traveled to Scotland in order to recuperate from ill health, as did his successor, the Rev. J. Aspinwall Hodge, so he should have been aware of the strong feelings that the conservative Presbyterians had regarding church

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50 *Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church and Society of Hartford, Conn.* Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1877, pp. 5-7; and J. Aspinwall Hodge, *The First Presbyterian Church of Hartford: Historical Address*. Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1866, pp. 5-8.

51 *First Presbyterian Church: 1851-1976* — The 125th Anniversary Pictorial Directory. Hartford: First Presbyterian Church, 1976, pp. 3-5. Some of the information in the present account was obtained from a handmade "History of Our Church Album" compiled by Mrs. Wilson's Fifth and Sixth Grade Class in 1971, containing valuable clippings and memorabilia.

52 *Ibid.*

53 Historical Sketch of the First Presbyterian Church, p. 7.

music. He resigned as pastor in 1865, to become a professor at the Hartford Theological Seminary, and later also taught at Wooster, Ohio. The Rev. Hodge was subsequently able to heal the breech and win the dissidents back to the older Church.[54]

By 1853 the new "steam cars" were clattering along the shore line of the railroad from New York City to Stamford three times a day. The railroad brought with it new industries to Connecticut, as well as the possibility of living out in Fairfield County while commuting to work in the city. These social changes had brought some Scottish people to Stamford, who were at first content to attend the local Congregational Church.

In 1853, however, they withdrew from it and began meeting in each other's houses. They constituted themselves as a Presbyterian Church on February 14, 1853 affiliated with the (New School) Synod of New York. Among their original members was Alexander Milne, who had immigrated from the north of Scotland, and James Robinson, another charter member, was an Ulster Scot. Other early Scottish members were Wells R. Ritch and John Clark.[55] The first edifice that this group built was a small wooden building located at 90 Broad Street, and dedicated in 1854. It served their needs until 1883, when a stone structure was erected on the same site, which was by then a busy downtown corner.

During the early 1920's a group of Scottish craftsmen were brought to Stamford by the Erskine-Danforth Furniture Company. By consulting the lists of new members of the First Presbyterian Church during 1921-22 and 1922-23 it is possible to ascertain that twenty-nine of them were immigrants from Scotland who came from thirteen communities.

Ardrossan	Dundee	Midcalder
Barnhead	Finnieston	Saltcoats
Beith	Glengarnock	St. Andrews
Calder, Lochwinoch	Lochwinoch	Tweedhar
Dowanhill		

These places are almost all in lowland Scotland; Ayrshire, Fife, Sterlingshire or Tayside. However, there is no way of knowing whether these immigrants were natives of these locations, or had migrated there from other parts of Scotland. Another new member came from the St. Columba Church of Scotland in London, England; and there were nine more people with Scottish surnames who had transferred from Presbyterian Churches in Canada. This little survey provides us with a very general notion of the places from which Stamford Scots came.[56]

Many of the Scottish artisans were carpenters, cabinet makers and wood carvers. Their minister, The Rev. Dr. Donald F. Campbell, describes them as being:

> Mostly of the laboring class and mostly quite clever with their hands.[57]

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54 Hodge, *The First Presbyterian*, p. 14.

55 First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Conn., *Year Book*, 1922, p. 15.

56 *Ibid*,. p. 13 and First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Conn., *Year Book*, 1923, pp. 7-9.

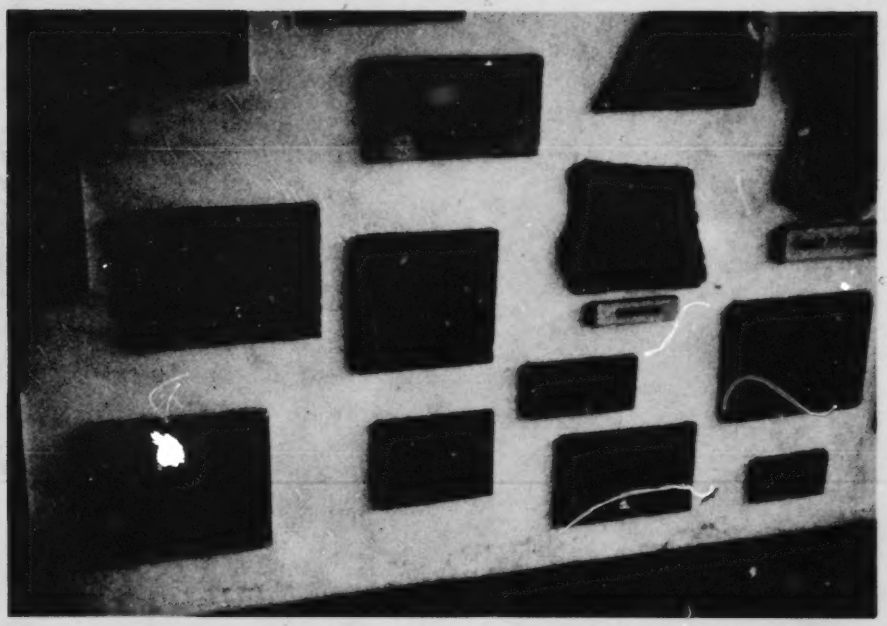
57 Handwritten letter from the Rev. Dr. Donald F. Campbell, Pastor Emeritus of the First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut to Dr. Frank A. Stone, April 8, 1977. See also a booklet prepared by the Church in 1958 entitled, *The First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut*. An interesting article appeared when this church was dedicated; "Stamford Connecticut, First Presbyterian Church: America's Most Talked about Church", *Protestant Church Administration and Equipment*, May, 1958.

During the depression, however, the Erskine-Danforth Company closed, so all of its employees were forced to find other jobs. Many of them were able to stay in Connecticut, though, and their children or grandchildren still live in our state.

Stamford, Connecticut's First Presbyterian Church, founded in 1853.

Today, the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford, which evolved from these beginnings and included these Scottish Americans in its membership, meets in a new complex of buildings located on an eleven acre site at 1101 Bedford Street on the parameter of downtown Stamford. Many aspects of the new buildings and grounds, which were dedicated in 1958, recall the Scottish origins of this institution. A beautiful Celtic Cross, for example, has been erected as a World War II memorial, similarly to what has frequently been done in communities in Scotland. Set in the Memorial Wall of the Chapel, among more than a hundred stones from many parts of the world that were collected by the Rev. Dr. George Steward, are ones from Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews. The sanctuary itself, constructed in a soaring contemporary design, is in the shape of a fish. It recalls the early Greek use of the word for fish, *ichthys*, as a symbol of Christ and also reminds us of the seafaring tradition of Celtic Christianity.

Tablets that are set into the walks leading to the Church memorialize Christian personalities from the first to the twentieth centuries. Scottish leaders such as John Knox, David Livingstone and Henry Drummond are among them; as well as the Scotch Irish founder of American Presbyterianism, Francis Makemie. A lofty freestanding tower overlooks the rest of the Church, containing a carillon



Stones from Edinburgh University, St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, St. Andrews University, Dunkeld and Malvern Priory in the First Presbyterian Parish House, Stamford.

of twenty-six bells. It is the gift of a group of families connected with the Nestle Company, who had to leave Vevey, Switzerland, in 1939 due to the Second World War. As a gesture of gratitude to Stamford for having made them welcome, their President, Dr. Edouard Muller, gave a fund for the bells in 1944. Each bell carries a religious symbol related to Switzerland and its Reformed faith; one for all of Switzerland, one for each of its twenty-two cantons, and three for the demi-cantons. This carillon beautifully symbolizes the historic relationship between John Knox and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland which he founded, and its roots in the Swiss Reformed faith of Ulrich Zwingle and John Calvin. Knox had studied under Calvin in Geneva. The bells were contributed as:

> . . . an earnest of the peace to come, to add richness and beauty to our city and nation, to proclaim liberty as they have known it, and to awaken in human hearts that filial piety which knows no frontier, nor is silent for want of speech.[58]

A tradition has been established with regard to this cross-cultural edifice, in which a Swiss carillon is contained in a Church that is proud of its Scottish heritage. On the Swiss National Holiday, August 1, the Swiss flag flies from this bell tower and the Swiss National Anthem is played on the carillon. In order to see its imaginative architecture and also to appreciate the cultural heritage that it represents, the First Presbyterian Church of Stamford is well worth visiting.

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[58] George Stewart, *The Story of a Carillon*. New York: Privately Printed, 1944, p. 2. Some of the information is based on the present author's observations inquiries while visiting the First Presbyterian Church, Stamford, Connecticut.

The Celtic Cross erected as a memorial to people who served in World War II by The First Presbyterian Church, Stamford.

Another Connecticut Presbyterian Church had also been founded in 1853, this time in the city of Bridgeport. At that time, the community had a total population of about 7,500. Two bridges to East Bridgeport had recently been opened, however, and gaslight and water companies had been formed. The Wheeler and Wilson Sewing Machine Company was then the leading local industry. The Presbyterian group first met in a public school on State Street, led by the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Hewit, who had previously served Congregational Churches in Bridgeport and Fairfield, after having been minister of the Presbyterian Church at Plattsburg, New York. In October, 1853, he and his congregation were received into the (Old School) Presbytery of New York. The church building which they constructed at the corner of Myrtle Avenue and West Liberty Street was dedicated in 1855. That site

was then considered to be remote from the center of the city. A new edifice was erected at the corner of Myrtle and State Streets in 1875.

A church bass viol like the one used in Bridgeport and other Connecticut Presbyterian Churches in the nineteenth century. This one is preserved in a church in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Although people from non-Scottish backgrounds also participated in establishing the Bridgeport Church, many of its members were of Scots and Scotch Irish ancestry. For instance, among the "scholars" listed in the Sunday School in 1903 were the surnames Andrews, Campbell, Cunningham, Donnelly, Fitzgibbon, Johnson, McDonald, McDowell, MacFarquhar, McLeod, Mackney, MacNair, Mitchell, Ritchie and Sunderland. The Bridgeport Presbyterians seem to have avoided the

controversies experienced elsewhere over using hymns and musical instruments in the services. On August 8, 1855, Dr. Hewit wrote:

> The psalmody was by our own members chiefly, assisted by a new musical instrument, called Harmonium, but it was played only in connection with the voice, according to the way of the church from the first, and to be continued in like manner in time to come.[59]

Nevertheless, we are told that a bass viol was played in the north gallery of the church in the early days, and in 1872 the Bridgeport Presbyterians purchased a pipe organ for $5,000. This was certainly a step away from the traditional practices of the Scottish Kirk.

The Presbyterian Church in Tariffville, which had earlier been organized among the Scottish weavers there, was extinct by 1866. Another Presbyterian Church that had been opened at Deep River in 1856 also had a relatively short existence. Its members eventually went back to the local Congregational Church from which twenty-one of them had withdrawn in order to establish the new society. By 1870 the "Old School" and "New School" wings of the Presbyterian Church reunited, so that the surviving churches in Connecticut then belonged to the same national body and were part of either the Connecticut Valley or Westchester Presbyteries.

Although the Presbyterian Kirk or Church of Scotland has been the religious persuasion of the majority of Scots who came to Connecticut in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by no means have all Scottish immigrants been Presbyterians. A number of the Scottish settlers in our State were either Episcopalians or Roman Catholics, especially if they came from the western Highlands or from the Clydeside area around Glasgow. Since the middle of the eighteenth century there have been Baptist Churches in Scotland which actively carried out missions to the Shetland and Orkney Islands, as well as to the islands of Mull and Tiree in the Inner Hebrides. Another center of Baptist work in Scotland was Glasgow, where as recently as 1926 there were twenty-two chapels of this denomination.[60]

Similarly, not all of the Scottish immigrants who joined Congregational Churches in Connecticut were formerly Presbyterians. By 1807 there were eighty-five churches in Scotland that had been formed on the Congregational plan and when their members came to New England they naturally joined similar churches here.[61] Other Connecticut Scots united with the Methodist Churches, and in some cases they had previously been Methodists in Scotland or Ulster. In fact, not all immigrants from Scotland were Christians at all. The first Jewish synagogue in Scotland was opened in Edinburgh in 1816, and there are now about 1,500 Jews in the capital. By far the largest Jewish community in Scotland, however, is located in Glasgow. It now numbers over 20,000 people and was constituted in 1823.[62] Because so many Scottish immigrants to Connecticut originated from the

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[59] *Anniversary Services of the First Presbyterian Church*, Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1853-1903, p. 18. All of the other data regarding this congregation derives from this source.

[60] George Yuille, (ed.) *History of the Baptists in Scotland from Pre-Reformation Times*. Glasgow: Baptist Union Publications Committee, 1926, p. 78. For information on the Roman Catholics in Scotland see, Peter F. Anson, *The Catholic Church in Modern Scotland*, 1560-1937. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., 1937.

[61] Harry Escott, *A History of Scottish Congregationalism*. Glasgow: The Congregational Union of Scotland, 1960, p. 82.

[62] A. Levy, "The Origins of Scottish Jewry", *The Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Volume 19, 1958, pp. 13-20.

region around Glasgow, it is virtually certain that some Scottish Jews must also have come here. We must also remember that since the days of David Hume and other members of the Scottish Enlightenment, it has not been unusual for some Scottish intellectuals to be agnostics or free-thinkers who oppose all organized religion.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland

During the years when these new movements of Scots into Connecticut were making possible a rebirth of Presbyterianism in the State, a new link was also being forged between Glasgow and Hartford. In 1852 the members of the Glasgow Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society invited the famous author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, to address them. From 1824 until 1832, Harriet Beecher Stowe had been connected with her sister Catherine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary and in 1864 she and her husband came back to Hartford, where the rest of her life was spent. In 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which was written while the Stowes were living in Brunswick, Maine, had just come out. The Scottish women read the British edition of this book which made them aware of the evils of slavery in the United States.

On April 15, 1853 two thousand Scottish women packed the Glasgow City Hall to meet the abolitionist from New England. Another huge civic reception was held for Mrs. Stowe in Edinburgh, also sponsored by Scottish society women. Her words galvanized these intellectuals, and soon thousands of women in Scotland were circulating petitions in opposition to American slavery. When Mrs. Stowe returned to Andover, Massachusetts, where she now lived, she wrote a glowing account of her trip to Great Britain and Europe called *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*, which was published in 1854. Mrs. Stowe visited Great Britain and the continent a second time in 1856 and the impact of Scotland upon her is demonstrated by a beautiful painting of Dunrobin Castle, Scotland, home of the Duchess of Sutherland whom she had visited, which still hangs in her bedroom at the Stowe House on Forest Street in Hartford. The Duchess of Sutherland, however, was among the Scottish nobility most active in the Highland Clearances.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's trips to Scotland coincided with the agrarian and industrial revolutions there. This was the height of the Scottish population growth which resulted in many tenants and small land owners being displaced. These people crowded into the wretched tenements and slums of Glasgow and Edinburgh, or were forced to emigrate overseas. Mrs. Stowe, however, quite naturally focused her attention on the warm hospitality that she received from her wealthy sponsors. Her favorable words probably influenced the attitudes of many mid-nineteenth century Americans. This must have helped to smooth the adjustment of some of the new arrivals from Scotland in Connecticut.

On the other hand, many of these people who had been forced to leave their homeland didn't share Mrs. Stowe's "sunny memories" of conditions there. Her mild account of the causes and effects of the Highland Clearances, for instance, aroused some people's anger. One of her critics was Donald McLeod, a Scot who had protested the evictions on the spot, and was a witness to Mrs. Stowe's first triumph in Edinburgh. He later emigrated to Canada, where he wrote *Donald McLeod's Gloomy Memories of the Highlands of Scotland versus Mrs. Stowe's Sunny Memories in (England) a Foreign Land: or A Faithful Picture of the Extirpation of the Celtic Race from the Highlands of Scotland* in 1857.

Mrs. Stowe had encountered the large landlords and gotten their explanations of the evictions. From McLeod's perspective, however, these wealthy Scots were moral dilettantes who stylishly

protested the exploitation of black people in a foreign land, while they destroyed the means of livelihood for thousands of crofters at home. A few of the Scots who eventually reached Connecticut were doubtless these same luckless Highlanders or residents of the Borders who had been "cleared" from their land.[63]

Connecticut Scots in the Civil War

A review of the official records of the service of citizens of Connecticut during what is termed "The War of Rebellion" (The Civil War) in 1861-1865 produces many Scottish surnames. To give some idea of their magnitude, these are the frequencies with which thirty-six family names that frequently indicate Scottish origins occur.[64]

Alexander	15	Manross	3
Andrews	59	Maxwell	8
Armstrong	19	McAllister	4
Burns	44	McArthur	6
Campbell	38	McBrayne	2
Coburn	6	McCabe	12
Colburn	13	McCellan	7
Douglas(s)	38	McCracken	4
Fraser(zer, zier)	21	McDermot(t)	13
Gordon	22	McDonald	30
Harris	48	McGovern	6
Hays/Hayes	58	McGregor	5
Lewis	98	McIntosh	5
Mack	15	McNeil	13
Mackay/McKay	14	Murdock	4
MacKenzie	3	Murray	30
Macomber	3	Scott	42
Macree	1	Stuart	16

Among these 725 individuals, there are doubtless persons of other than Scottish ancestry. Certainly, too, many other Scottish Americans who served in the Civil War could not be identified. This circumstantial evidence, however, does indicate that Connecticut Scots served the United States in the Grand Army of the Republic during the Civil War.

Imagine the writer's excitement to discover among these rolls the name of his own great-grandfather, Hugh McBrayne. McBrayne was an immigrant from Glasgow, Scotland who had settled in Middletown, Connecticut. He served in Company A, Second Connecticut Volunteers as a private from May 7, 1861 until August 7 of that year. Company A had been recruited exclusively from Middletown, and its surgeon was another Scottish American, Dr. Archibald T. Douglass. Hugh McBrayne later served in Company B, 14th Connecticut Volunteers and he was seriously wounded at

[63] George Shepperson, "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Scotland, 1852-3", *The Scottish Historical Review* 32(113), April 1953, pp. 40-6.

[64] *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion.* Hartford: The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1889, "Index to Connecticut Volunteers."

Antietam, Maryland on September 17, 1862. As a result, he was discharged from the army on December 3, 1863, and from Middletown church records we know that the family moved to New Britain by 1867, probably so that Hugh's son, Alexander, could obtain better employment in order to support the family since his father had been disabled. Thus, by piecing together this information we have a little vignette of the impact of the Civil War on one Connecticut family of Scottish origin.[65]

Connecticut communities did not begin to produce detailed city directories until after the Civil War, so it is usually difficult to identify the occupations of Scottish Americans during the second half of the nineteenth century. A manuscript concerning the Hazard Powder Company of Hazardville, Connecticut, however, provides some data about a number of Connecticut Scots who practiced a very risky profession as powder makers. The community in which the factory was located got its name, not because the work done there was hazardous, but from Colonel A. G. Hazard who became a member of the firm in 1837. The previous year, some experienced powder makers had been brought to Connecticut from Faversham, England, and the first company to make gun powder was formed here in 1835. Many of the employees of the Hazard Powder Company were either Irish or Scottish. Sadly, between March, 1839 and December, 1865 no fewer than forty people lost their lives in explosions at the factory. Among them were: [66]

Robert McChesney	March 11, 1839
N. McClester	October 16, 1844
Jas. McKenzie	April 10, 1851
William Murry	May 20, 1853
William Lowrie	July 12, 1856
John Burns	October 27, 1857
Michail Burns	October 19, 1859

Of course, business boomed for the Hazard Powder Company during the Civil War, and it continued to operate until 1903, when it was absorbed into the Dupont Company.

The first directory of the citizens and businesses in Middletown came out in 1871 and lists the vocations of people who have eighteen typically Scottish surnames.[67]

Armstrong (Carpenter)
Andrews (Cabinetmaker)
Bruce (Molder)
Burns (Quarryman, engraver)
Campbell (Carpenter, caulker)
Fitzgerald (Cooper, mason, saloon keeper)
Gordon (Laborer, buffer)
Grant (Caulker)
Ingham (Sewing machines)
Kincaid (Harness maker, saddler)
Hamilton (Weaver)
McDonald (Stonecutter, saloon keeper, tinsmith)
McKay (Machinist, weaver)
Murdock (Machinist)
Neil (Stonecutter, student, tailor)
Ronald (Cooper, solderer)
Ross (Engineer, helper)
Wallace (Laborer)

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 559.

66. Prickett, E. L. "100 Years as Powder Makers in the U.S.A.", a typed manuscript in the Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

67. Fitzgerald and Dillon, *Middletown Directory for 1871-2*, Containing a General Directory of the Citizens and a Business Directory of Middletown and Portland. Hartford: George L. Coburn Steam Print, 1871.

There was a Campbell and Ralston stone yard at that time, and the local bookseller was McLean and Company. Most of the Middletown Scots in 1871, however, were either skilled or unskilled workers.

There are a few published accounts of Scottish immigrants to Connecticut in the late nineteenth century. Perhaps some information has been preserved in people's attics or in family albums. Otherwise, the main source of data for the era is the commemorative biographical collections of prominent people that were then very popular. Thirty biographical sketches of Connecticut Scots were extracted from these collections.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THIRTY NINETEENTH CENTURY CONNECTICUT SCOTS

Name	Town	Profession	Source[1]
Henry Gray Anderson	Waterbury	Physician	A, II, 35f.
James Reed Anderson	Wethersfield	Farmer	A, IV, 61f.
Joseph Anderson	Waterbury	Clergyman	A, III, 210f.
John Peter Cameron	Rockville	Businessman	A, VI, 340f.
Andrew Storrs Campbell	Hartford	Lawyer	A, VI, 235f.
William Benjamin Douglas	Middletown	Businessman	A, X, 156f.
Charles H. Graham	New Britain	Manufacturer	A, II, 62f.
James Abraham Hillhouse	New Haven	Poet	A, I, 198f.
Duncan Black MacDonald	Hartford	Semitic Scholar	B, 3f.
Theodore H. MacDonald	New Haven	Insurance	A, V, 306f.
James Steward MacFarlane	Mansfield	Manufacturer	C, 397f.
Angus H. Mackenzie	Bridgeport	Grocer	D, 683f.
Charles Chase McClaughry	Wethersfield	Prison Warden	A, VI, 151f.
William A. McClelland	Stamford	Optician	A, IX, 76f.
Fenelon McCollum	Mansfield	Manufacturer	C, 740f.
William Robert McDonald	Cromwell	Merchant	E, 180f.
David W. McFarland	Norwalk	Physician	A, II, 319f.
James D. McGaughey	Wallingford	Physician	F
Henry King McHarg	Stamford	Businessman	A, II, 306f.
Lewis McLaughlin	Stafford Springs	Publisher	A, IV, 139f.
Charles Noble McLean	Rockville	Manufacturer	A, VI, 247f.
William O. McLean	South Norwalk	Journalist	A, IX, 226f.
Archibald McNeil	Bridgeport	Merchant and Politician	A, II, 110f. D, 34f.
Edwin McNeill	Litchfield	Railroad Promoter	A, I, 193f.
Henry Ruthven Monteith	Unionville	Educator	A, X, 270f.
Le Roy Montgomery	South Norwalk	Banker	A, II, 320f.
Edward Verrance Preston	Hartford	Insurance	A, II, 57f.
Samuel C. Reid	Norwich	Sea Captain	A, I, 119f.

[1]The bibliographic data on the sources is provided on the next page.

Name	Town	Profession	Source
William R. Scott	Greenwich	Insurance and Real Estate	A, IX, 103f.
David Torrance	Norwich	Chief Justice, Ct. Supreme Court of Errors	A, I, 359

SOURCES OF BIOGRAPHICAL DATA REGARDING THIRTY NINETEENTH CENTURY CONNECTICUT SCOTS

A *Encyclopedia of Biography*. , 1915

B William Douglas Mackenzie, "Duncan Black MacDonald: Scholar, Teacher, Author," in *The MacDonald Presentation Volume*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1933.

C *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties, Connecticut*. Chicago: J. H. Beers and Company, 1903.

D *History of Bridgeport and Vicinity*, Vol. II. New York: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1917.

E *Commemorative Biographical Record of Middlesex County, Connecticut*. Chicago: J. H. Beers and Company, 1903.

F J. L. Rockey, (ed.) *History of New Haven County, Connecticut*. New York: W. W. Preston and Company, 1892.

Rather than generalize from these biographical accounts, about half a dozen of them will be presented in greater depth.

Two Scottish American Manufacturers of Mansfield

People of Scottish extraction were often engaged in industry in Connecticut. Two examples happened to be active in the town of Mansfield, Tolland County, in the late nineteenth century. James Steward MacFarlane was a silk manufacturer, whose mill once stood in the Atwoodville section of the community. His grandfather, Duncan MacFarlane, was a weaver in Paisley, Scotland. Duncan's son, John, was also a worker at Paisley, employed in the famous thread mill owned by the Coates family. When he was twenty-two, John MacFarlane moved to Glasgow, taking a position as the manager of a silk mill there owned by John G. Campbell. He held this job for twenty-seven years, and later ran his own grocery store in Glasgow. In 1848, however, he sold out and sailed for the United States with his wife and children on the ship, "Warren." Their voyage from Glasgow to New York took five weeks, and at first John MacFarlane worked in a Camden, New Jersey silk factory. Soon he shifted jobs to the Cheney mill in Manchester, Connecticut.

Then, in 1861, John MacFarlane came to Mansfield where, with his three sons John G. F., George N. and James S., he leased the factory owned by William Atwood. Two years later the MacFarlanes were able to buy the factory, and John continued living at Atwoodville until his death in 1882. He had married Stewart Ann McArthur in Paisley, Scotland in 1826 and was a Presbyterian in Glasgow.

After coming to Connecticut, however, the family attended the First Congregational Church at Mansfield Center. When the Atwood mill was burglarized and burned, the MacFarlane's bought the L. D. Brown silk mill nearby, the second one built in the United States. James Steward MacFarlane married Mary A. Conant of Mansfield, a person of English extraction. He was remembered as the violin player who accompanied the choir of the Mansfield Center Church.

The other enterprise in Mansfield initiated by a Scottish background individual was the Mansfield Organ Pipe Works, founded by Fenelon McCollum in 1876. McCollum's great-grandfather had come to America from Scotland, and his grandfather was a ship captain who was drowned at sea. Erastus McCollum, Fenelon's father, was born in Manchester, Connecticut, where he later worked as a carpenter. Subsequently, he lived in Vernon and Rockville, where he built the first house on Brooklyn Street. Erastus also constructed a barn behind what was then known as the Rock mill, and it was there that he and his sons built their first church organ.

Fenelon had been born in Rockville in 1841, and learned organ building from his father and half-brothers. In 1871 he conceived of the idea of making only the pipes for organs, as a separate industry. First, he did this at Merrow, in the town of Mansfield; but in 1876 McCollum leased the Brigham mill at Mansfield Depot. There, in 1892-3, he built a new four story factory, the largest one devoted exclusively to making organ pipes in the world at that time. The building was destroyed by fire in 1896, but McCollum restored it. Patents for his own inventions, such as an improved pipe foot, were used in the operations, which, at their height, used more than 400,000 feet of the best Michigan pine every year. There is a good picture of McCollum's Mansfield Organ Pipe Works in the *Chronology of Mansfield, Connecticut: 1702-1972*. (Mansfield Historical Society, 1974), p. 112; and one of the MacFarlane Mill on p. 96.

A Scottish American Physician in Wallingford

Dr. James D. McGaughey, who was born at Greenville, Tennessee in 1848, had Scotch Irish parentage on his father's side. William McGaughey, his great great grandfather, had come from Scotland before the American Revolution. He first settled in Pennsylvania, then went to Holston, Virginia, and finally built a fort at Boyd's Creek, Tennessee that was known as McGaughey Station. His son, James D. McGaughey, fought in the Revolutionary War and went on fourteen expeditions against the Indians.

James McGaughey's father, Major John McGaughey, fought under Andrew Jackson on Indian Expeditions in Alabama and Mississippi. Although the major owned and operated a large farm, he refused to own any slaves and hired day laborers instead. When he attended the Tennessee Constitutional Convention organized to revise the Constitution of 1796, he tried to keep the provision that free colored people would be allowed to vote, but his motion was voted down. James D. McGaughey first attended school at Greenville in 1854. He went on to Greenville College, a school taught by Mrs. Valentine Sevier, the daughter of Deacon Lyman Cannon of Wallingford, Connecticut. He later went on to the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia.

The great event of James McGaughey's youth was the Civil War. Two thirds of the population of Greenville, he claims, sided with the Union. Due to this, guerrilla warfare took place in the streets of the town and young men lived in fear that they would be forced into the Confederate army. Greenville was the hometown of Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Abraham Lincoln in the Presidency. Dr. McGaughey married Sara V. Cannon of Wallingford after the war, and in 1872 the couple moved

from Tennessee to Connecticut. Of a total of five children, the couple had two daughters and a son who survived. Dr. McGaughey was medical examiner for Wallingford, and in 1880 he served a term in the Connecticut State Legislature.

A Cromwell Businessman and Politician of Scottish Extraction

Hon. William Robert McDonald was born in Nova Scotia in 1841 and got his education in the schools of New Brunswick. He immigrated to Connecticut in 1869, and in August, 1873 he established a general store in Cromwell. At various times, McDonald was chosen the town's postmaster, justice of the peace, town auditor and chairman of the town committee. Then, in 1899 he was elected a member of the General Assembly, and in 1901 he was chosen a member of the State Senate, representing the Twenty-second district. McDonald participated in enterprises such as the Cromwell Creamery, the Cromwell Silver Plate Company, the New England Brownstone Company, and the Meriden, Waterbury and Cromwell Railroad. McDonald married Sarah Treat in 1872, the daughter of the Hon. Lorenzo Hart Treat of Middletown, whose family goes back to the founders of Wethersfield.

A Scottish Coal Dealer and Politician in Bridgeport

Archibald McNeil was born in Bridgeport on July 2, 1843. His father, Abraham Archibald McNeil, was born at Derby, Connecticut in 1802, and sailed on ships plying the West Indies trade out of New Haven. He was lost at sea in 1873, along with the entire crew of the brig "William" out of Bridgeport. Archibald was the family's tenth child, and attended Sellick's School in Bridgeport, and the Thomas School in New Haven. He was graduated from the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven in 1860.

Archibald then began working in a ship chandlery store run by his brother at the Bridgeport steamboat landing. From 1863 until 1876 the brothers had a wholesale fruit business in Bridgeport. Archibald later ran a wholesale butter and cheese business in New York. Then he began an import-export business with Cuba. In 1888 he set up a large coal business in Bridgeport called the Archibald McNeil and Sons Company, Inc. It represented six large coal producing companies; supplying railroads, factories and other industries.

McNeil was an active member of the Democratic Party, and twice, in 1902 and again in 1906, was elected a member of the Connecticut State Senate. While serving in the Senate, he became President Pro Tem. In 1881, Archibald McNeil married Jean Mckenzie of Clan Ronald, and the couple had three sons. McNeil promoted the Algonquin Club and the Old Eclectic Clubs of Bridgeport. He also belonged to the Seaside Club, the Bridgeport Club and the Bridgeport Yacht Club.

It is interesting that at the same time Archibald McNeil was active as a coal supplier in Bridgeport, two other Scottish Americans, Angus H. and Roderick Mackenzie, owned and operated the Bridgeport Public Market. They established it on Bank Street in December, 1897 and from first employing twenty-five people, it grew to a business in which some two hundred people worked. It was both a retail and jobbing store, with deliveries made both by horse and wagons, and by motor trucks. The main store covered an alley that extended from Bank to State Street, so that deliveries could be made without the teams having to block the street. Later, a branch market was also opened on East Main Street.

A Scottish Semitics Scholar in Hartford

One of the most renowned citizens of Connecticut of Scottish origins was Professor Duncan Black MacDonald, born in Glasgow, Scotland in April, 1863. MacDonald received a degree in liberal arts at Glasgow University in 1885, and was graduated from the Divinity School there in 1888. He then studied in Berlin, Germany.

MacDonald first came to Hartford as instructor of Semitic languages at the Hartford Theological Seminary in 1892. Six years later, he married Mary Leeds Bartlett of Hartford. In 1894 he was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor and became Professor of Semitic languages in 1900. Trinity College granted him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree in 1909, and his alma mater, Glasgow University also did so in 1920.

Even during the first year that he was at Hartford Seminary, MacDonald taught Arabic and Syriac, as well as Hebrew. Soon he had built up a specialized Islamics Department, which prepared missionaries for posts in Muslim countries. He was one of the founders of the Kennedy School of Missions, which was opened at the Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1911. Although he was offered the chairs of Arabic at two American universities, MacDonald stayed at Hartford for his entire career. He died in 1943.

MacDonald wrote seventeen of the articles in the 1910 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and no less than eighty of the articles in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* were from his pen. His articles concerning Muslim Studies and the Old Testament were published in many learned journals. His most famous books were *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (1903), *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (1909), and *Aspects of Islam* (1911). Altogether, this Scottish American pioneer in the field of Islamic Studies wrote seven books, sixteen articles in edited volumes, and sixty periodical articles. Five scholarly works were dedicated to him, and today his name lives on in the Duncan Black MacDonald Center at the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

A Scottish Background Civil War Veteran and Jurist in Derby

David Torrance . . . was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, March 3, 1840, son of Walter and Ann (Sharp) Torrance, who emigrated to the United States in 1849, and settled at Norwich, Connecticut.

David Torrance attended the public schools of Norwich, but at an early age went to work in a cotton mill there, and subsequently learned and for some years worked at the trade of paper making. On July 17, 1862, during the progress of the Civil War, he enlisted as a private in Company A, Eighteenth Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, and shortly afterward was made a sergeant in the company. In 1863 he was captured and held in Libby Prison and Belle Island. In July, 1864 he was appointed Captain of Company A, Twenty-Ninth Connecticut Colored Regiment. He was then advanced to the rank of Major, and then became a Lieutenant-Colonel; all in the same year. After Richmond fell to the Union Army, he remained there for a time, later did guard duty in Maryland, and then sailed with the Company for Texas in the summer of 1865. On October 24, 1865 he was mustered out of service at Brownsville, Texas.

Torrance then came back to Derby, where he took up the study of law. He was admitted to the Connecticut Bar in 1868 and shortly afterward he formed a partnership with Colonel Wooster, under the firm name of Wooster and Torrance. Their relationship continued until the appointment of the junior partner as a judge in 1885.

Torrance was elected to represent Derby in the lower house of the State Legislature in 1871, and served a two year term. He was elected State Secretary of State on the Republican ticket in 1878. Torrance was appointed a judge of the New Haven Court of Common Pleas in 1880 for a four year term, which started in 1881. In 1885 Governor Henry B. Harrison appointed him a judge of the Superior Court, and in 1890 Governor Morgan G. Bulkeley made him a judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors. He was reappointed to this position, and from 1901 until his death in 1906 was the Chief Justice.

Judge Torrance married Annie France in 1864, and they were the parents of three children: Walter S., James F. and Margaret, the wife of Walter W. Holmes of Waterbury. He was a member of the Army and Navy Club of Connecticut, the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Masonic Order. His religious affiliation was with the Congregational Church. Judge Torrance died at his home in Derby on September 6, 1906.

A Hartford Benefactor of His Scottish Hometown

George Anderson Gay, who was born at Crail, Fifeshire, Scotland on September 28, 1854, came to the United States in 1871. At first he ran a small dry goods store in Meriden, but he soon moved to Hartford, where he worked at the dry goods firm of Brown, Thomson and McWhirter. It later became Brown, Thomson and Company, and was eventually one of the largest department stores in Connecticut. It occupied its own building which filled almost an entire city block.

Gay's merchandizing skill made him wealthy, and after his marriage to Elizabeth Winton Robb, whose parents were also both of Scottish birth, the couple visited Scotland every other year. In 1911 George Gay donated the grounds of "Fountain Park" to his native town of Crail. Three years later, he made the "Hendrietta Gay Lothian Bequest" in order to endow the maintenance of these public gardens. So visitors to Scotland from Connecticut can still go to Crail, and enjoy its park and public gardens which were a gift from a local son who "did well" in Hartford.[68]

A Scottish Seminary President in Hartford

William Douglas Mackenzie, who became President and Professor of Systematic Theology of the Hartford Theological Seminary in 1903, was born to Scottish missionary parents at Fauresmith, Orange River Colony, South Africa in 1859. The family had gone out from Edinburgh in order to meet the famous missionary explorer, David Livingstone, along the Zambesi River. At the age of ten, Mackenzie was brought back to Portobello, Edinburgh to live with his mother's family. He was educated at George Watson's School, and the University of Edinburgh, being awarded his M.A. with First-Class Honors in Philosophy in 1881. He later also studied in Germany at the Universities of Gottingen and Marburg. Among his six honorary degrees were ones from Princeton and Wesleyan in 1906, Yale in 1907, and Edinburgh in 1910.

Mackenzie became a Congregational minister in Scotland in 1883. He served churches in his homeland at Montrose and Morningside, and also was the editor of the *Scottish Congregationalist*. In

[68] D. MacDougall, (ed.) *Scots and Scots' Descendants in America*. New York: Caledonian Publishing Company, 1917, p. 169.

1895 he was invited to teach at the Chicago Theological Seminary, and moved from there to Hartford in 1903. Today, a large residence containing an imposing meeting hall on Sherman Street, at the Hartford Seminary Foundation in Hartford, perpetuates the name of William Douglas Mackenzie, who gave this institution leadership and rendered services to the City of Hartford and the State of Connecticut.[69]

Connecticut Scots at the Turn of the Century

When we reflect on these nine biographical sketches of people of Scottish extraction in Connecticut in the late 1800's, several commonalities are recognizable. These people's careers invariably all demonstrate upward mobility, whether they were first generation immigrants themselves, or the sons of families that had been in the United States for several generations or more. They are usually Republicans in their political affiliations, although one person had a political career as a Democrat. If a religious affiliation is mentioned, it is likely to be Congregational. If these men didn't wed fellow Scots, they were likely to marry wives of English or "Yankee" extraction. The accounts of their activities certainly indicate a strong commitment to the work ethic and a determination to "get ahead." Such were our Scottish forebears in Connecticut.

It should be pointed out, however, that the people whose biographies are included in commemorative volumes are certainly not typical subjects. The mentality of the era is reflected in the total absence of working class Scottish Americans or women. They certainly were the majority of Connecticut people who were of Scottish ancestry, but the written records are largely silent about them until the twentieth century.

Working Class Connecticut Scots just before World War Two

The first accounts that seem to have been preserved regarding working class Scottish and Scotch Irish immigrants to Connecticut are five extensive interviews made in Bridgeport in 1939 and 1940 by representatives of the Federal Writer's Project. Today, these "oral histories" make fascinating reading.

Mr. Andrew Vassie

Andrew Vassie is a native of Scotland, naturalized in 1915. "Mr. Vassie is a hearty looking, wiry man of small stature, with a decided Scotch accent."[70] He lives with two daughters, ages thirteen and twenty, and his sister-in-law, who keeps house for them. The older daughter is a high school graduate and attended the Booth and Bayliss Business College, but couldn't get an office job. She works as a factory hand at General Electric.

Mr. Vassie came to Bridgeport fourteen years ago from Brooklyn, N.Y. where he had worked for the Brooklyn Union Gas Company. He now works for the General Electric Company on the seven to

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[70] M. G. Sayers and P. K. Russo, "Interview with Mr. Andrew Vassie, a Resident of Remington Street, Bridgeport, Ct. on March 1, 1939." Federal Writers' Project, Bridgeport District. "The Peoples of Connecticut" Multicultural Ethnic Heritage Project Archive, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, Box 10, Part II, Folder 46. Typed manuscript.

PLACES FROM WHICH SCOTS EMIGRATED TO CONNECTICUT

three shift. He is a "straw boss" in the maintenance department. He rents a company house of six rooms and a bath for $28 a month, and a garage for $4.

There are two unions at General Electric; the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, C.I.O. and the General Electric Industrial Union, Inc., of which Mr. Vassie is the President. This is a company union with a membership of 1,300, half of whom are women. At the time of the interview on March 1, 1939, the C.I.O. was the sole bargaining agent, but the company union was challenging this situation with the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. Vassie belongs to the Masons, having previously been a member in Scotland. He bowls regularly, and attends the movies at least twice a week. At this point the interviewers left because it was time for the family to have their afternoon tea, a daily custom in this household.

Interview with a Scotsman

"My parents came to the United States with my two sisters and my brother when I was about ten years old. One of my sisters was just a babe in arms. Why they ever thought of leaving their home and families in Scotland and coming here I do not know. Most likely it was the great tales we had heard of the riches to be obtained almost for the asking in this country and then too, my father had the restless blood of some long dead pioneer ancestor flowing in his veins. If my mother had let him, I believe we would have spent our lives moving about from one place to another in search of that non-existent "utopia" where all dreams come true without any particular effort, but one trip was enough for my mother, with four small children and not too much money."[71]

This respondent remembered that the family traveled third class on the steamer from Scotland. "We were all loaded down with packages wrapped in string bags, newspapers and cloth." These bundles contained the family dishes and various kinds of bric-a-brac. The respondent, although only ten years of age at the time, had charge of two large white china cats, wrapped up in newspaper. They made an awkward, bulky package, but he safely got them to Bridgeport without so much as a nick.

The family had heard about only two places in America: New York and Bridgeport, Connecticut where a friend of their father's had settled several years previously. He had sent them a post card labelled, "Sea Side Park," Bridgeport, Connecticut. Due to this, their mother insisted that they shouldn't stay in New York even for one night, but immediately go to Bridgeport.

> We had no idea how far away it was or how to get there. We tried making inquiries, but although we were sure we could speak good English, no one understood us. Finally, an Irish cop took pity on us and after my mother rummaged around in her various packages and produced a picture of Sea Side Park, he finally understood where we wanted to go and directed us to a place where we could get the train.

However, when this immigrant Scottish family arrived in Bridgeport, they were still unable to contact their friend. They walked around for a long time, until the weary children began to cry. Finally, they found a Catholic Church, where they could go in and rest for a while. Their father located the parish priest, who was kind to them and invited them into his rectory where his housekeeper fed them. Then the priest called parishioners until he had found places for them to sleep that night, their first in America. The older sister and two brothers went to one house; while their father, mother and three-year-old sister were placed with another family of Scottish extraction.

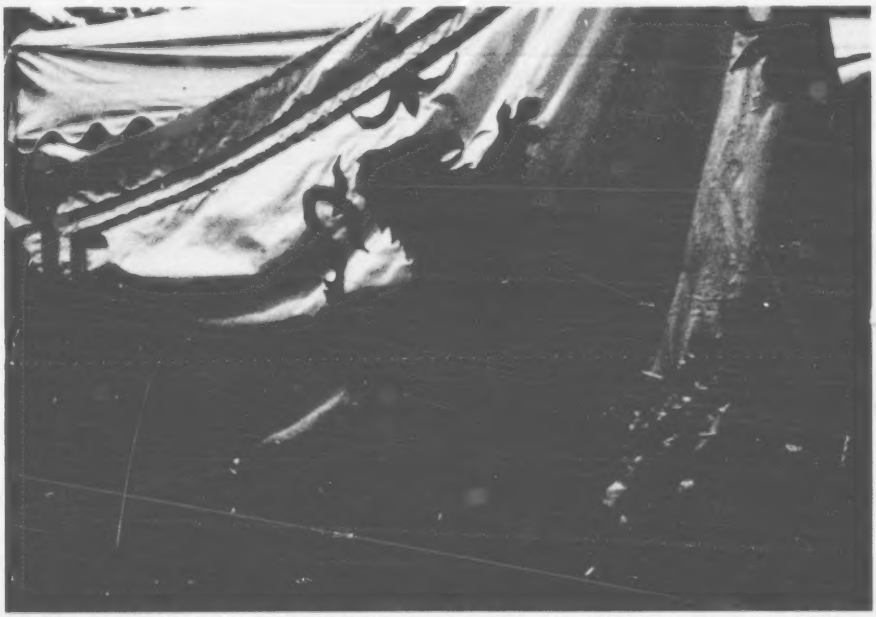
[71] William J. Mullane, "Interview with a Scotsman on March 27, 1940, in Bridgeport, Connecticut", *Ibid.*

They finally found a house on Fairfield Avenue, and the priest located a job for their father as a night watchman at a factory. They had landed in the summer, so it was the following Fall before the children started to school. They were sent to the public schools, but their garb and speech set them apart.

> I could see very little difference between my clothes and theirs, but everyone acted as if I had come to school dressed in kilts and my speech left everyone within hearing distance open-mouthed at first and then sent them into gales of laughter.

At home, their mother and father continued to speak in Scottish dialect, but soon the children had acquired American English at school. Eventually, they located the old friend, and the two families got together at each other's homes once or twice a week, at least. "My father played the accordion and his friend played the piano and sang all the old Scotch ballads. . . ."

This informant had observed the ship's doctor on the trip from Scotland and dreamed of becoming like him. At the age of fourteen, he got a job after school at the Leverty Drug Store. He kept this job throughout high school, buying all of his own books and clothing from the money he earned, as well as helping out his mother. After finishing high school, he went to work full-time in the drug store and eventually became a licensed druggist. He mentions attending Scotch parties with Bridgeport friends. His older sister left school after the eighth grade and went to work in a factory. The younger brother started high school, but left to go to work during the first year. Their little sister also left school to work in a factory. When their father died, the family dissolved as the brothers and sisters left to get married.



The Royal Standard of Scotland displayed at the Scottish Highland Games, Stamford, Connecticut

A Woman Industrial Worker from Ayrshire

Miss Y. was born in Ayrshire, Scotland where her father was a "gentleman farmer" who owned his own land and employed two farm laborers. There were ten children in the family. Miss Y. couldn't stand farm life, so she left home and went to Paisley, where she got a job in the Coates Thread Mill. After working there awhile, she went into domestic service. Then she worked in a carpet factory, tending the looms and weaving, winding, drying, setting the patterns and cutting them out. She was fired from this position because she asked for a raise in pay, but she was eventually hired back with a better job.

While Miss Y. was still in Scotland, a family hired her to be their cook and took her with them to Canada. They paid for her travelling expenses, plus $65 a month wages. But after spending three months with them, she left to work for Northern Electric at over $20 a week. Later, her old boss asked her to come back to cook some good country food for the family, so she returned to them for awhile. Then she went back to working for Northern Electric, but this time her boss was an American.

He talked to her about work opportunities in the United States, so she decided to move there and arrived in the spring of 1924. At first she waited on tables at a boys' school, and then she took care of a wealthy family's baby. Later she took up practical nursing and then worked as coffee girl in the restaurant run by old J. P. Morgan's sister, Ann. During the prohibition era, she was a coat check girl at the Cotton Club and other night clubs in New York City. After selling this profitable concession, she worked as a housekeeper and then managed a rooming house during the depression.

She started coming out to Bridgeport from New York in 1933 and 1934 to help a friend and take care of her house for her. Then she settled in Bridgeport and got a job working at Carpenter's on Railroad Avenue. In 1936 she moved to the Casco Factory at $20 to $25 a week and joined the C.I.O. Union there in March, 1937. She participated in a strike, but then economic conditions worsened, and she was laid off in January, 1938. She claimed that this wasn't discrimination, but just lack of work.

With lots of time on her hands, she became active as a union organizer. She was the paid business agent for the local union for several months, and then did the same work gratis when the union funds ran low. Later, Miss Y. represented the local union at bargaining meetings with the factory owner and, at the time of the interview, was considered the outstanding woman trade unionist in Bridgeport.

> Miss Y. is short and stocky, with blond hair and blue eyes. She has a generous laugh and a ready, crackling wit. She speaks with a thick Scotch burr. She is about thirty-five years old, with a hearty capacity for life. It would be difficult to imagine her phased by any of life's problems.[72]

Mr. O. H. Harvey

Mr. Harvey was born in Scotland in 1909, and went to school for part of one year there before coming to the United States. His father immigrated to Bridgeport about two years before the rest of the family, because he was a shipbuilder by trade and worked for the Lake Torpedo Boat Company there. Mr. Harvey came to Bridgeport in 1919 with his mother, brother and two sisters.

Their first home in Bridgeport was on Pembroke Street. He entered Barnum School on Noble Avenue soon after they arrived, but from the very first day he was in some kind of trouble due to his

[72] M. G. Sayers and P. K. Russo, "Interview with a Female Industrial Worker born in Ayreshire", *Ibid.*

Scotch dialect. His brother, who was four years older, had the same trouble. They weren't able to make any friends at Barnum School and were happy when their father moved the family to Fairfield Avenue near Howard Avenue. They then attended the Elias Howe School on Clinton Avenue, where things went much better. Still, Mr. Harvey didn't like school and he left after seventh grade in order to attend the Booth and Bayliss Business School for one year.

His first job as a stock clerk at the Bryant Electric Company lasted only one week. Then he tried to learn mechanical dentistry, but that didn't work out either. His father then bought a delivery truck for him and he started a retail milk route. From the very beginning, this was a successful venture and he earned about $40 a week. After maintaining the milk route for about five years, he was able to sell it at a good profit. Then, he worked at the Bridgeport Public Market as a truck driver. After being there for about a year, Mr. Harvey became a salesman for the Bronx Bakery. He has had this job for about five years, and earns from $35 to $55 a week. A Roman Catholic, Mr. Harvey recently married a second generation Irish girl.[73]

An American-born Bridgeport Scot

Mr. C. was born in the United States about five years after his parents came here from Scotland in 1864. His grandparents were considered well-to-do in Scotland, but they never gave a nickel to either his father or his mother. His father was a painter, who saved up enough money to buy passage to America for himself and his wife, and was thereafter considered a sort of "black sheep."

As soon as Mr. C. was old enough, he went to work with his father as a carriage painter at $10 a week. His father was then earning about $20 to $25 a week, which was considered to be good money. They made enough to support the family doing piece work. A good fast worker collected the fattest pay envelope, so soon Mr. C. was bringing home $30 to $35 a week.

At the age of twenty-one, Mr. C. inherited $40,000 from his mother's father, but he had spent it all by the time he was twenty-five. Then his mother and father passed away, leaving him $3,000; but this was soon spent too. Later, his father's brother left him $35,000, but it too went for parties, women, gambling and booze. Mr. C. certainly doesn't fit the stereotype of a tightfisted Scotsman who is difficult to separate from his cash!

Finally, Mr. C. moved from carriage to house painting, doing mostly inside work. He was getting along very well on what he was able to earn by the sweat of his brow when disaster stuck again. This time, he inherited $60,000 from his father's father in Scotland, who had died at the age of ninety-one.

By this time, Mr. C. was forty-five years of age, and he decided to handle this latest windfall prudently. He carefully invested almost all of his inheritance in stocks, which were worth $150,000 on paper. He thought that at last he was on Easy Street. Then came the big stock market crash of 1929, which wiped out all of his investments except for a thousand dollars or two. Mr. C. wasn't able to locate any work at all for a while, but he finally got a job with the W.P.A. Unmarried, he lives alone in a furnished room, where he is able to do his own cooking.[74]

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[73] Willaim J. Mullane, "Interview with O. H. Harvey, Whitney Avenue, Bridgeport, Ct.", undated, probably in 1939-40. *Ibid*.

[74] W. J. Becker, "Interview with F. C., a Bridgeport house painter on December 13, 1939", *Ibid*.

Conclusion

Although all of these oral histories come from a single community, and therefore are probably not representative of all Scottish Americans in Connecticut around 1940, they do furnish some insights. By reading them, we realize that many, perhaps most, of the Scottish people who came to our State during the twentieth century have been artisans and workers. Their attitudes regarding organized labor, however, have been diverse; some Scottish Americans were hostile to the unions, while others were ardent union members and organizers.

The notion that all Connecticut Scots are Presbyterians is again demonstrated to be untrue. Actually, there has been considerable religious diversity among the Scots who settled in Connecticut, and it is not surprising that a good number have been Roman Catholics. After all, the Roman Catholic Church is the second largest communion in Scotland, exceeded in numbers of adherents only by the Church of Scotland.

Besides the oral histories from Bridgeport, the Federal Writers Project in the late 1930's also produced some information about Scottish Americans in seven Connecticut communities. Ansonia in 1930, for instance, had 255 people who were born in Scotland among a total population of about twenty thousand. In East Hartford at that time, 309 people reported having either been born in Scotland, or having Scottish ancestors less than three generations back. In the same categories, 330 people hailed from Northern Ireland, and there were also 327 people from Canada, not including French Canadians. Some of this latter group were probably of Scottish extraction too. At that time in East Hartford, Scots and Ulster Scots were exceeded in the foreign born population only by Italians, Irish, Germans and English.

At Greenwich in 1930, the Scots must have composed a good number of the one thousand people listed as of "British" extraction. They were especially active as estate grounds keepers, and horse or kennel men. Often, the Scottish American couples were in domestic service, and many intended to eventually go back to their homeland to retire. In about 1924 a small group of Scots were invited to organize a traditional Scottish Games celebration at the Charles A. Moore Estate. It included piping and band competitions, and prizes for the best Highland fling, foursome reel and sword dance. By 1936 about 12,000 people were attending this annual event, and at that time there was also a Scottish Parade in the morning through the streets of Greenwich. The 1935 Greenwich Scottish Games, held on the Round Hill Estate, were dedicated to King George V of Great Britain on his Silver Jubilee, and were featured in an international broadcast.

Hartford in 1930 had 1,290 people who had been born in Scotland, as well as 1,309 children of Scottish born parents. The Scots were 1.5 per cent of the total population of the city. During the four years between 1928 and 1932, 136 Scottish citizens of Hartford became naturalized Americans. Their papers indicate that their average age on arrival was 27.2, which is much higher than for any other group except the English. The average arrival age for Irish was 22.5, for Italians, 21.6, for Poles, 19.3, and for Russians, 17.6.

During the years from 1880 to 1890 a large number of weavers came to Manchester from Northern Ireland. They usually got jobs at the Cheney Brothers mills, or other local textile factories. They were followed by many people from Scotland, itself. These two groups had much in common, and often intermingled with each other. In 1938, many of these Scottish Americans belonged to The British American Club, which is still in existence. Of the 221 listed, seventeen are identified as being Scottish, but apparently most of those listed as "Irish" are actually Ulster Scots.

As early as 1832 there were twenty-seven families who had come from Scotland living in New Haven. By 1905, 500 first generation Scottish families were counted there. The center of their activities was the Caledonian Club, founded in 1879. Thomaston also contained some Scottish Americans in 1935, when there were four Scottish births and six Scottish deaths there. Most of the Thomaston Scots were Republicans at that time, they had no police court records, and only two of them were on relief.[75]

Scottish American Manufacturing Firms In Connecticut

This investigation of Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut included a survey of commercial and manufacturing firms in the State that were started by Scottish Americans. Ten firms were identified which by their names appeared to have possible Scottish connections. Replies came from three of these firms that were founded by Scots.

The oldest of these, Wallace Silversmiths of Wallingford, was established by Robert Wallace in 1835. Wallace's grandfather had been born in Scotland, so even at the time when this business was started, the family had been in the United States for three generations. They originally manufactured Britannia and nickel silver spoons. Today, Wallace Silversmiths produce sterling flatware and hollowware, sterling jewelry, silver plated hollowware and pewter utensils.

MacFarlane and Fraser, Inc. of Bridgeport is a commercial printing firm started by John Stevenson MacFarlane in 1945. The third firm from which a reply was received was the H.M. Scott Company, Inc. of Stamford, established in 1954 by Harold Murdock Scott, Jr., a seventh generation Scottish American. He reports that his family originated in the Hebrides and southwestern Highlands, coming to Connecticut by way of Ulster and Waterford, Ireland. The H. M. Scott Company is a small fabricating business that produces cabinets with formica tops and does special millwork.[76]

The Personal Experiences of Six Modern Scottish Immigrants to Connecticut

Extensive "oral histories" were transcribed by six people who personally had the experience of coming to Connecticut as immigrants from Scotland or Ulster. They settled in various communities in the State, and first came to the United States between 1906 and 1930. One of the subjects lives in Lowell, Massachusetts, although a son of his was working in Stamford at the time of the interview. He was included because no other Gaelic speaking Highlander had been encountered, and it was desirable to interview some Scottish American from this region and language group. No claim is

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[75] B. S. Brockett and A. H. Ellard, "Ansonia, Racial Element Survey", *Ibid.*, Folder 101.
John C. Hinrichs, "East Hartford, Racial Elements, Progress, etc.", *Ibid.*, Folder 67.
Frank E. Vanderhoof, "Racial Groups of Greenwich", *Ibid.*, Folder 48. L. J. Robertson, Jr. and Elsie Mackenzie, "Racial Groups of Hartford", *Ibid.*, Folder 64.
John A. Johnson, "Manchester: Racial Elements and Progress", *Ibid.*, Folder 66; and L. J. Robertson, Jr., "The British American Club, Inc., Manchester, Connecticut", *Ibid.*, Box 30, Folder 110.
Villorio Racca, "Ethnography: Foreigners in New Haven", *Ibid.*, Folder 156.
Frank H. Cooper. "Racial Elements and Progress in Thomaston", *Ibid.*, Folder 71.

[76] A Questionnaire survey of the ten possibly Scottish American Manufacturing Firms based on the 1977, *Connecticut State Industrial Directory*. New York: State Industrial Directory Company, 1977.

made, however, that these particular six respondents are representative of all recent Scottish immigrants to Connecticut. Rather, it is believed that the immediacy and specific details of their personal accounts contribute insights about their experiences of adapting to a new society as immigrants.[77]

Robert John McKeon

Mr. McKeon was born at New Mills, County Tyrone, Ireland in 1899. His father, Alexander McKeon, was a field worker and landscaper. His mother was Isabel Wade. At that time, New Mills was a small town of between five hundred and a thousand people centered around its store and post office. Robert John remembers that children dressed differently there. The boys neatly combed their hair, and the little girls wore petticoats. Robert John had already started going to school there before his family immigrated, and he recalls that they attended the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

When he was six years old his family decided to move to Connecticut where his father's sisters had already settled. They were employed by Mr. S. H. Williams in Glastonbury, so this was the destination of the McKeons. Robert John remembers that they came steerage class on the ship, *Caledonia*, that took ten days to cross the Atlantic Ocean from Londonderry to New York. It was a long passage for a little boy, and most of the time the sea was rough and foggy. They were admitted at Ellis Island, and then took the train to Hartford where an uncle came to meet them. The year was 1906.

Robert John's father was hired by S. H. Williams, too, so the family immediately moved into a Company house on Hubbard Street where Robert John still lives, along with his two younger brothers. He went to the local one room school, where one teacher taught all seven grades. Three daughters were later born to the family in Glastonbury. His father was earning $7.50 a week as a factory hand, but this was enough to meet the needs of the family. Their staple foods were potatoes, bread and oatmeal, served as porridge for breakfast. Tea, rather than coffee, was their typical hot drink. They had plenty of home grown vegetables, and got milk from the milkman who came around in a wagon and fish from a monger who announced his arrival by blowing a horn.

As a young boy, Robert John did gardening and mowed lawns. He worked in the tobacco fields during the summers. He could earn fifty cents for three or four hours of work. Then, Mr. P. K. Williams hired him as an office boy. Both his father and mother had died, so Robert John had to assume responsibility for the rest of the children as the oldest in the family. He was moved around from one place in the factory to another, often filling in for people who were on vacation; and today he believes that this work experience was as good as a college education. The Williams Company even sent him on business trips to Montreal and Washington, D.C. Robert John worked at the Williams Company for forty-five years, rising to the position of a foreman in the soap works. After retiring from this position, Robert John was the Glastonbury Public Schools attendance officer for a decade.

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[77] The oral history with Robert John McKeon was transcribed in Glastonbury, Ct. on February 11, 1977 by Patricia Snyder Weibust and Frank A. Stone. Those with Margaret Helferty Field in Brooklyn, Ct. on March 8, 1977; John MacLeod in Lowell, MA. on June 16, 1977; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peebles in Stamford, Ct. on June 14, 1977; John MacRae in Stratford, Ct. on March 9, 1977; and The Rev. David Campbell in Bolton, Ct. on January 11, 1977 were conducted by Frank A. Stone. These oral histories are available in the archives of "The Peoples of Connecticut" Multicultural Ethnic Heritage Studies Project at the University of Connecticut, Storrs.

As a boy, Robert John remembers that his family kept in contact with an uncle who lived in Hartford. "We were clannish, we stuck together," he says. A main event each summer was a picnic along Long Island Sound at East Hampton. A truck would be hired to take them, and all of the friends and relatives would go on this outing together.

After he had been in the United States for twenty years, Robert John was able to go back to Ulster for a visit in 1926. The trip almost became a disaster, and his relatives in Ireland were frightened when the Belfast nespapers carried a headline, "*California* Hits Iceberg," because that was the ship he was on. Fortunately, the collision didn't cause much damage.

Due to his family responsibilities, Robert John never married; however, he has an extensive family of nieces, nephews and grandnieces. They were naturally Protestants, and as there was no Presbyterian Church in Glastonbury, the McKeons became Congregationalists. Robert John was active in the Sunday School and once served as chairman of the property committee. His main recreation has always been sports and youth activities such as the Boy Scouts. He played on the baseball team and recalls, "I loved the sporting angle. When there were any events, I was always there." Ice hockey was one of his interests, and he would often go bowling at the Williams Memorial.

The Williams Company was bought out and moved from Glastonbury in 1960. Some of the old employees still manufactured scented soap there until 1977, but now this activity has terminated, too. Much of the old way of life no longer exists in Glastonbury, except in the memories of Robert John McKeon and other "old timers" like him.

Dance competition at the Scottish Highland Games, Stamford, Connecticut.

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Mrs. Field was born in Glasgow, and can remember the "trams" or trolley cars that used to rumble along the streets of that metropolis. She and her family lived on Hollybrook Street in the Cross Hill district of the city. There was a large park nearby, where she frequently was taken to play. Although she left Glasgow at the age of seven, she also recalls having attended what was known as the "Six Penny Class" at Holy Cross School, which was something like a kindergarten.

The Highlands of Scotland are near to Glasgow, and Mrs. Field remembers going on a summer trip to the mountains. An old Highlander at the place where they were staying told her that "The mountains have put on their nightcaps." He was referring to the mist that covered the hills in the evenings. Other childhood memories from Scotland are of steamer excusions on the Clyde, and waiting in the crowd to see the Prince of Wales and Duke of York go by. On another occasion, the little girl witnessed King George V and Queen Mary arrive at Rothesay.

Margaret's father was a graduate of St. Mungo's Academy, Glasgow, who was then able to attend Glasgow University on a scholarship. This was a very unusual opportunity for a Roman Catholic youth in the late nineteenth century. He studied engineering, and when the depression hit Scotland after World War I, he decided to immigrate to the United States. Margaret's mother's family name was Geddes. The family sailed on the S.S. *Haverford* in late August, 1922. Margaret remembers being entertained along with the other children on board by a fellow passenger who read children's stories to them on deck. On the last night at sea before the vessel was due to arrive in New York, a fancy dress ball or masquerade was held. Margaret attended it dressed as a Japanese girl with rosy red cheeks.

The Helferty family settled in Providence, Rhode Island, where Margaret's father was employed by the Brown and Sharp Company, a toolmaking firm. Unfortunately, however, he became ill and died in 1924. Margaret and her mother stayed on in the United States, and in 1928 they moved to Danielson, Connecticut. They stayed there until 1930, when they went back to visit Scotland. They were away for two years, during which time Margaret attended a boarding school in County Down, Ireland, near the town of Newtown where an aunt of hers lived.

The Helferty's were Roman Catholics, and Margaret and her parents faithfully attended the Catholic Church. Margaret's education until she entered Killingly High School was obtained at Catholic institutions. As a little girl, she remembers being called on by the Sister to recite.

> "I mind the wee hoose,
> That stood on the brae . . ."

Mother and daughter Helferty had come back to Connecticut in 1932, and eight years later Margaret wed Robert Field, a New England Yankee. At the time when their engagement was announced, a cousin brought them a Crown Derby tea set from Scotland as a wedding present.

The newly wed Fields moved to Brooklyn, Connecticut in 1942, where they have lived for the past thirty-five years. About twenty years ago, they founded the Field Concrete Pipe Company to manufacture culvert pipe. Both husband and wife work in this enterprise, and now their two sons also are employed in the same business.

Mrs. Field has always corresponded with her Scottish relatives, and several of them have come to Connecticut for visits. For a long time she used to subscribe to *Country Life*, a British journal. After one of their sons was awarded a scholarship by the organization, the Fields also joined the English

Speaking Union. Both of their sons have visited Scotland, so some family ties with their Caledonian heritage have been maintained.

John MacLeod

John MacLeod was born on the Island of Berneray in the Western Isles of Highland Scotland's Outer Hebrides in 1898. This small island is only three miles long and two miles wide, and lies between North Uist, and the Sound of Harris and the large Island of Lewis. The MacLeod family lived on a small croft which they farmed and raised four or five cows, a couple of horses and some sheep. In the summer, their father supplemented the family income by fishing and catching lobsters.

John remembers growing up without electricity or indoor plumbing. Everyone had to do a share of the work. John recalls, "I was plowing with a team of two horses when I was only fourteen years old. I had to steady the plow with one hand, and drive the horses with the other." Another familiar task was cutting peat, the fuel that is called "turf" in Ireland.

Although the struggle to wrest a living from the soil and sea of Berneray was never easy, John remembers the homemade food there with relish. Breakfast consisted of fresh eggs and oatmeal. Their mother baked all the bread they needed on a griddle. Fish would usually be served for dinner at noon. Any meat that they had was butchered at home, and every part of the animal was used. They preserved the meat by putting it into salt brine, as they had no refrigeration. Their sausages were all made at home, too. Chickens or ducks might be eaten for special occasions on Berneray.

Occasionally, a wedding would provide the folk of Berneray with some entertainment. After the church service, the wedding festivities would be held in a barn. Usually a fiddler would play, and there might also be an accordion. Sometimes, these instruments might be joined by the bagpipe. There would be singing and dancing until the wee hours of the morning. However, most of the young people left Berneray in order to find work in Glasgow. The girls would become domestic servants and the boys took factory jobs or went to sea. They might come back to Berneray to be married, but few of them settled on the island. The custom was for one son to work the farm and help the father, while the rest left.

When John was growing up there were three churches on Berneray; a Church of England, a Free Church, and a Church of Scotland. He and his family attended the Kirk, or Church of Scotland. John still remembers the two hour services there, conducted in the Gaelic tongue. Gaelic was also the language that they spoke at home. In fact, the only place where English was used was the school. There was only one schoolhouse on the island, and after completing its elementary program, the young people had to go to the mainland if they wished to continue their education. The teachers were Highland Scots who also knew Gaelic, but at school they strictly maintained the rule that only English could be spoken. John started to school when he was six years old, and he was able to complete the sixth grade. He left school at fourteen, however, because his family couldn't afford to pay for his higher education.

At the age of seventeen and a half, John volunteered for the British Navy during the First World War. He visited Beirut and then did minesweeping off Port Said, Egypt after the conflict ended. When he was discharged, he got a summer job working on a private yacht that belonged to a wealthy South African. The entire crew was composed of Highland men, who scrubbed the decks and polished the ship's brass. For two years, John kept this job; going back to Berneray in the winters to work the family croft.

Pipers tune their instruments on July 4 at Stamford.

Then in 1921 and 1922 he was employed on a cable boat, working to maintain the lines of communication under the Atlantic Ocean between Plymouth, England and Halifax, Nova Scotia. His ship was once at sea for forty-four days off the Banks of Newfoundland. Even then, it came into port only because fuel was running low and they were about out of provisions. John was one of the ship's quartermasters, and had charge of steering the vessel when he was on duty. He would have four hours on and four hours off duty, two of the hours when on duty were actually at the wheel and two standing by it while a seaman was at the helm.

After two years of this work, John transferred to an old ship in London that sailed to Cardiff, Wales in order to load coal for South America. This vessel went to the Caribbean, and then was diverted to

Staten Island, New York. There, cars were loaded on it for shipment to Russia. John asserts, however, that, "Before she left, I left her. I jumped ship." Carefully keeping out of trouble because he had no immigrant's visa, John found work in New York building the subways. He labored at various construction jobs for the next five years, from about 1924 until 1929.

In the meantime, John had married a girl from Ireland. He finally got a job near Morristown, N.J. working a gentleman farmer's land, but his wife didn't like the country. He had a sister-in-law living in Lowell, Massachusetts who promised that she could arrange a job for him there with the Electric Light Company. So the MacLeods moved to New England, only to have the stock market crash and ruin John's chances for employment as the depression settled in.

The job he had anticipated never materialized, but John finally did find work in a factory. Later, he obtained a fireman's license and worked for one company for twenty years, feeding coal to three steam boilers. Working under an engineer, he had to watch the water level and take out the ashes. When oil was installed to replace coal, John's toil was greatly reduced. The MacLeods had a family of two daughters and four sons, so there were soon many mouths to be fed at their table.

But for some time, John still wasn't a legal immigrant and he couldn't get his citizenship papers. He decided that he must correct this situation, and did so with the help of an organization called the International Institute. He had to go before the immigration authorities in Boston and explain what had occurred. After they checked out his story and made a thorough investigation; they told him that he could either go to Canada to apply for a work visa, or send his case before Congress. His wife was already an American citizen, so John chose the second route and at last became a legal United States citizen.

Although John was raised in the Church of Scotland on Berneray, Mrs. MacLeod was a Catholic, so their children were raised in that faith and the daughters attended Catholic schools. There were very few other Scots in Lowell, and his wife did not know Gaelic, so John had little opportunity to use his native tongue. In fact, he remembers meeting some other Gaelic speakers from Cape Breton Island at the Caledonian Games in Boston who remarked, "What good is Gaelic over here, anyway?" John has used the language, however, to correspond with his two sisters who still live on Berneray. He has had three trips back to his homeland; the first one in 1966 and the most recent last year. On these occasions, he has spent some time on Berneray, where Gaelic is still spoken. Gaelic speaking cousins have also visited him in Lowell, and he used to get Gaelic books and newspapers from Scotland. John has met some other Gaelic speaking Scots in New England, but they have usually been from Nova Scotia. He also found many Gaelic speaking Scots when he visited Vancouver, British Columbia.

Mr. MacLeod used to sing Gaelic ballads for his wife and children that he learned as a lad on Berneray. He transcribed three of these during the oral history. One of them was sung in English, with only the refrain in Gaelic, symbolizing the linguistic ambivalence of the Highland Scots. It ended with these lines:

Goodbye to all the mountains, *(English verse)*
Goodbye to all the hills,
Goodbye to thee, O world and life,
The shining stars and moon.
Goodbye to thee, the bonny glen,
The place where I was born.

Thinking of my mother, ... *(Gaelic refrain)*
Whom I left on the Isle of Lewis

One of the Gaelic ballads can be translated in these words.

Give my greetings to the island where I was born,
The prettiest place in all the world.
It was on the first day of March,
That I left my old home town.
There was plenty of snow lying on the ground,
And my mother and sisters were downhearted,
As I turned away from them they were all crying,
And I sailed away to Glasgow.
I walked down the city's crowded, bustling streets,
At the dock a big ship was standing, and I jumped on board.
I asked the chief mate if his crew was complete,
And I was taken on for the voyage.
I handed over my seaman's papers to him
And asked where the ship would be heading.
He said that they were sailing for Australia,
The very best place in the world.
A tug boat came to tow us out to sea,
And I felt pangs of homesickness,
As I cast off the lines.
I wished I had never gone to sea;
That I had never sailed East or West.
The skies overhead were darkening,
But I could make out patches of blue on the horizon.

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peebles

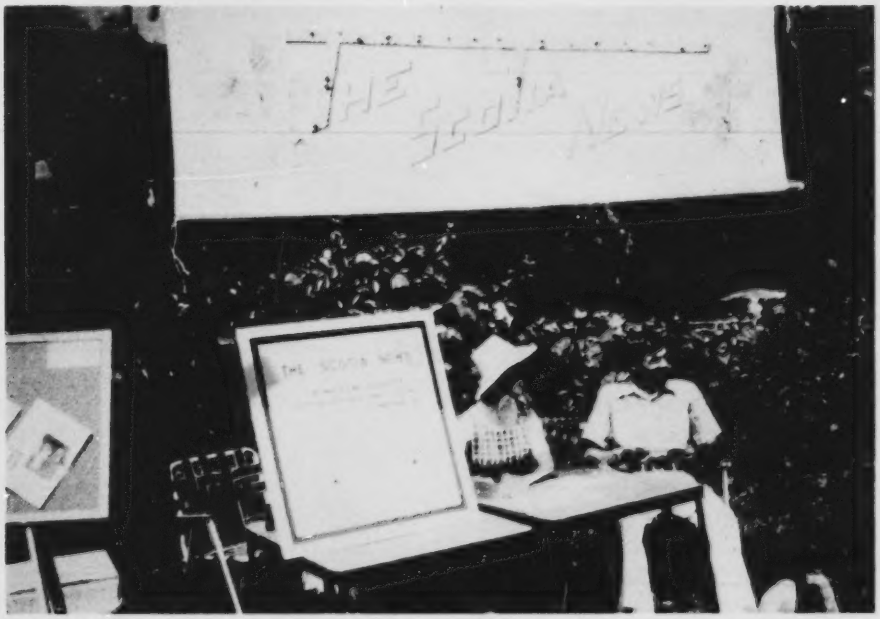
Charles Peebles was born in a small fishing and mining community on the Firth of Forth just four and a half miles from Edinburgh, called Musselburgh. After primary school and one additional year of formal education, Charles started to work as a coal miner at the age of fourteen and a half. Musselburgh was also considered a seaside resort, and Charles met his future wife when she came there for a vacation from her home in Glasgow. Mrs. Peebles describes Glasgow when she was growing up there as "The capital of the world." She was dancing with Charles' brother, "wrestling" as Charles put it, when they were introduced. The brother announced, "Here's my brother, Charlie." And she replied, "If he was any longer, he's be marked absent." This was the start of a romance that lasted for six years while he was in the Royal Air Force.

The First World War was on and Charles was sent to Southampton and then to France. From there he went to Egypt, and after the war was over, he was assigned to Mesopotamia (Iraq) and India. He was finally mustered out of service and they got married in 1927. They didn't want to settle either in Glasgow or Musselburgh, so they applied for immigration visas. Charles' brother was now in Australia, and they also registered to go there, but their visa for the United States came through first.

They sailed from Scotland on the S.S. *Transylvania*, leaving from Glenock and also picking up passengers at Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Their first port of call in North America was Halifax, Nova Scotia and Charles remembers that the day was bitter cold. "The wind was so frigid that when you inhaled it seemed as if ice went down into your chest." The Peebles came on to New York because their destination was Stamford, Connecticut where they had friends who could help them when they first arrived.

On his first night in America, Charles went to a bowling alley to meet Mr. Leach, the President of the Stamford Wallpaper Company. Although he had never bowled before, he played as well as he could, and had been offered a job at the wallpaper firm before the night was over. During the lean years of the 1930's, although they went on shortened work weeks and their pay was very low, at least they weren't unemployed. After World War II began, Charles left the Wallpaper Company to work for Schick, Incorporated.

All of the Peebles' children were born in Stamford. Mrs. Peebles recalls that after she had paid for everything when the first baby, a daughter, was born, she had forty cents left in her purse. It had cost $25. The next baby was a boy, and this time they were charged $20 and $1 for the circumcision. Although these may seem to be very small sums, they were substantial expenses in terms of the economy at that time.



The Scotia News, a monthly devoted to the Scottish heritage and culture, published in New York City advertises to Scottish Americans in Connecticut.

The Peebles joined the First Presbyterian Church in 1927, as soon as they were settled in Stamford. Charles was a member of the Session of this Church for fifteen years, and his wife taught Sunday School. There have also always been several other links with their Scottish heritage. An important tie was Charles' interest in sports. He played soccer and traveled all over New England with the team. Scottish lawn bowling also provided many contacts with other Scots in Connecticut. Charles' great athletic passion, however, as a true son of Musselburgh where the local people believe that golfing originated, has always been golf. He can remember rowing across the Firth in order to play matches with teams in Fifeshire before leaving Scotland. Many Sunday mornings in Stamford have found him out on the golf links rather than in his pew at the Kirk. The Peebles also get a weekly journal from Scotland called *The People's Friend*, containing serialized stories. In 1937, Mrs. Peebles took the children to Scotland for the King's Coronation. Her sisters still live there, so regular correspondence has always been maintained.

The Peebles know many other Scottish Americans in Stamford besides themselves. Most of them were originally carvers and cabinetmakers who were brought over by furniture companies. When the depression hit this industry, many of them went into boat building. During World War II they built minesweepers and P.T. boats. Others, who had left the Clydeside due to the collapse of shipbuilding there, got jobs such as plumbing, rigging fitters and sailmaking. Charles belonged to the local Order of Scottish Clans and his wife has been active in the Daughters of Scotia. The Peebles have three children and ten grandchildren — one of their grandsons attends the University of Connecticut at Storrs — so through them some of the Scottish heritage has taken root in the Nutmeg State.

John MacRae

Mr. MacRae was born in Glasgow, but his family soon moved out to Clydebank, a town near the city. His father was a stationmaster for the Scottish Railways. John grew up with a brother, and, after his father's death, a half-brother. He attended public school in Scotland for six years, but his education was interrupted for several years when his parents took him with them to Asia. He came back to Glasgow at the age of eight or nine.

John remembers that his grandfather was a very strict member of the Kirk. "He was a fine man," John recalls, "but he wouldn't permit any food to be cooked on the Sabbath. My father, who wasn't so pious, had once bought a newspaper that was published on Saturday for people to read on Sunday. When he tried to bring it into my grandfather's house, both he and the paper were ordered out. My grandfather firmly believed that only the Bible could be read on Sunday."

John began learning his trade at about the age of fourteen when he was a "boy" to an angle ironsmith. He served an apprenticeship in this trade, and looked forward to making a good living at it in the local shipyards. Electric welding came in about that time, however, and it made the old methods of smithing obsolete. So in 1928, at the age of twenty-two, John decided to emigrate. He had a friend who had come to Bridgeport, Connecticut, and this was John's destination. It took him two years to get his visa but in 1930 John was sailing for America on the S.S. *Cynthia* of the Cunard line.

When his friend first wrote him in 1928 jobs had been plentiful in Bridgeport. But by the time John arrived, the depression had hit and he couldn't get work anywhere. While he was getting adjusted to the new country, he lived with his friends, the Allan Fairlie family. John acknowledges that without their help, he never would have made it. They kept him going until he found work, and then he was

able to pay them back. First he was a foundry laborer, and then he got work in grocery stores. Odds and ends kept him going until in 1934 he finally landed a regular job in a factory; Burns and Bassick (now the Warner Corporation).

By 1939 he was able to open a gas station and he managed it until 1950. At that time he decided to go into partnership with another Scottish American, William Harvey. At first the machine shop they bought was known as Carl and Harvey, but it was later incorporated as FairConn, Inc. After a serious illness, Mr. MacRae had to leave this business in 1960. It was soon after that he began a mail order business called Bradley Imports, Inc. This firm is the only source of imported Scottish items in Connecticut and for the last seventeen years John, his wife, and their five children have attended Scottish gatherings all over the country to display their wares.

John makes combined business and social trips to Scotland in order to purchase goods and see his half-brother who still lives in Glasgow. He used to get Scottish newspapers and magazines, but doesn't now because, as he puts it, "Over the years you forget the people you knew in the past. The close ties have vanished with the years." The MacRaes became Methodists in Connecticut, because there was no Presbyterian Church nearby. However, Mr. MacRae still belongs to The Order of Scottish Clans. The MacRaes are grandparents and soon will be great-grandparents, so through them the Glaswegian tradition has been planted in Stratford, Connecticut.

The Rev. David Campbell

David Campbell, born in Wick, Scotland in 1930, was brought to the United States by his immigrant parents at the age of three months. He went back with his mother when he was two in order for his younger brother also to be born in Scotland. Before David was born, his parents had come to the United States and settled here. His father hailed from a town in southern Scotland about thirty-five miles from Glasgow. His original trade was shipbuilding, but he came to the United States in 1923 when the depression in Scotland put him out of work. He worked for the Packard Motor Company at first, but realizing that this wasn't very lucrative, he later became a private chauffeur. During World War II, he went back to his old trade for five years, and worked as a shipfitter. David's mother was a native of Wick, who came to New Jersey in about 1927, literally as an indentured servant. An American family put up a $500 bond in order to bring her over, in the "Highland servant girl" tradition, as a governess for their children. David's parents were married in 1929, and his mother chose to go back to Wick to have her children so that they would be native Scots.

David grew up in what he terms "the Scotch, English, Irish Ghetto" of New York City between roughly 64th and 68th Streets, Lexington Avenue and the East River on the Old East Side of Manhattan. This area contained the quarters for many private servants, and it was bounded on one side by the Italians and on the other by the Bohemians. The milieu of David's childhood, however, came to an end in about 1945 when the second generation young people moved out to the suburbs of New Jersey, New York and Connecticut.

Their Scottish background prescribed many aspects of life in David's home when he was growing up. He ate oatmeal for breakfast every morning until he was eighteen, and finnan haddie was served every Friday. An after school snack consisted of tea and a bun. At high tea in the evening, the traditional Scotch pies would be eaten. The cure for a cold was always a hot toddie made with good Scotch whiskey. Not only were their eating habits influenced by their heritage. Almost the entire social life of David's parents took place either in the Presbyterian Church, the Scotch Clan or the

The Argyle Fish and Chips Truck at the Scottish Highland Games, Stamford, Connecticut.

Scottish Lodge. As he puts it, "These were the people you visited with. These were the only people you knew. They stuck to their own."

David and his brother, however, soon began to expand their horizons. They attended the public schools with children from many ethnic groups. After his parents had moved to Queens, David studied at Brooklyn Technical High School and went on to Pace College. He first came to Connecticut in 1953 in order to work for the Remington Arms Company. Then in 1960 David went back to study for the Methodist ministry at the Hartford Seminary Foundation. He explains that he became a Methodist simply because there were no Presbyterian Churches near where he lived.

It wasn't until 1968 that David had another opportunity to go back to Scotland for a visit, although his parents had been going every second or third year, except during the war. He then found Wick to be a little town of about 2800 people in a county of only some 8500 souls. It is, "the last stop on the railroad going North." One road and infrequent airplane service also connect Wick with the rest of Scotland. It was once a herring fishing port, but that industry declined after World War I. Today, the Caithness Glass Works, a distillery, and a nuclear power station about twenty miles from town are the main sources of employment. This region of Scotland, however, is particularly interesting because of the Norse tradition that lives on here. In Caithness County and the Orkney Islands, many of the modern Scots are blond and speak English with a distrinctive gutteral sound. Originally, fishing cultures flourished in this region. When David's mother was growing up, Gaelic was still spoken in Wick and was taught in the local schools there. Until about 1958 the Wick newspaper regularly carried a column on its front page that was basically a Gaelic-English dictionary.

David's wife's family are also Scottish from around Aberdeen. Their name is Magoon, and they came to Connecticut from the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Originally they worked as liveried servants, and came to Hartford to work in the factories there during World War II. So, as we would expect, the Campbells maintain many ties with Scotland. They travel there almost every other year. The weekly newspaper from Wick comes to them regularly. They exchange letters, Christmas cards, packages and books with aunts and uncles, and many cousins. David even keeps a Scottish credit card for use when he is in the country. Perhaps the best symbol of David Campbell's ongoing relationship with the land of his birth is his pride in a Gaelic Bible printed in 1841, which a relative in Scotland recently sent him.

One of "The Children" Returns to Scotland

By mid-afternoon on the last day of April this year, I was speeding toward the J.F. Kennedy Airport on my way to attend "The International Gathering of the Clans" in Edinburgh which opened on May 1, 1977. Seated in the same limousine from New Haven were three other Scottish Americans conversing about the "old country." They were first generation immigrants who had settled in Connecticut. The two women were going back to Great Britain to visit relatives there. The distinctive sound of their lowland Scots met that of the TWA pilot, who was also reminiscing about his Scottish heritage. I ruminated to myself about whether, in comparison with these people whose claim to relationships with Scotland was so obvious, I had any business participating in this occasion at all. There is Scottish blood on both sides of my ancestry, but on the one hand it goes back to colonial Windsor, Connecticut, and on the other to great-grandparents who came from Glasgow, I have been told, to live in Middletown.

The people who attend a "Gathering of the Clans" well know that the traditional clan system was rooted out of the Scottish Highlands more than two hundred years ago. A few of the visitors may be looking for a romantic rejuvenation of the old system; or, as John Prebble, the famous English author of a series on Scottish history put it, " . . . were coming to buy a kilt and shake the hand of their English educated clan chief. . . ." Most of us, however, were more realistically seeking some clues about the culture that helped to shape us. As Scotland's famous contemporary nationalist poet, Hugh Macdiarmid put it so well on the dark red cover of the first *Scottish Chapbook* in 1922, we were looking "Not (for) Traditions — Precedents!" We knew that in some basic ways we were different from the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants who supposedly form the dominant group in the United States. But how?

Two weeks of reflection on this question while participating in a variety of programs that had been arranged by Edinburgh University for the 10,000 clan people from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States gave me some clues to the answers.

One of the links all these people have with the Scottish heritage is relational. As the late Dame Flora MacLeod, twenty-eighth chief of the MacLeods used to put it, "The Gaelic word *clann* means children and the chief of the clan was regarded as the father." This type of intimacy could not function after the Highland Clearances, but today a measure of it lives on in a sense of shared origins and common history. This is a radically different history than that of the English, Irish or Welsh — as I emotionally rediscovered by visiting the sites of five of Scotland's famous battles. Some were won, but alas all too many were lost. We found out that we are the progeny of a people who struggled long and hard for their national dignity and independence.

Scotland House at 124 East 39th Street in New York City, opened on October 26, 1976, is a new center of activities for Scottish Americans in this part of the United States.

As a few of the millions of "off-shore Scots," however, we also quickly had to recognize that the Scotland our ancestors left was an economically impoverished country. Indeed, even with its "new towns" such as Livingston and the promise of wealth from the North Sea oil and gas, contemporary Scotland is in the grips of serious inflation and discernable recession. We found most Scots all too aware that Scotland's role in British imperialism has come to an end, and that many Scottish factories are antiquated, making it difficult to compete for markets with others' more modern facilities.

And, of course, paradoxically, although Scotland has maintained its characteristics as a nation, since the Act of Union in 1707, it has been a junior partner in the United Kingdom, ruled from Westminster. Ambivalent thoughts about national sovereignty and the transnational realities of the twentieth century came to my mind as I contacted representatives of the Scottish Conservative Party, the Scottish Labour Party, the Liberal Party in Scotland, the Scottish National Party and the Scottish Socialists.

Most of all, however, this American visiting Scotland found that the real heart of the cross-cultural relationship is the constant experience of convergence. It isn't particularly the sound of bagpipes or the sight of tartan kilts that forges these links for me. Rather, it is hearing Scottish university students debate young people from Quebec on the question: "Resolved that Quebec and Scotland should be Independent." This example of free speech and a lively concern for social justice is part of Scotland's gifts — enlivened with touches of dry humor.

Or, I found a Scottish perspective that I could value in conversations with a group of school counselors employed by the Edinburgh School Authority who work with children in the inner city.

Two young men in this group, speaking the rich lowlands tongue of Scotland, I realized were second generation Italian Scots. No nation is dead when it can still attract new blood and values its diversity. Scotland turns out not to be single entity, but a rich tapestry. It is an intricate weaving within which I can claim ties with a few of the threads. By doing so, I come to possess an identity that can add a touch to the huge carpet that is our State of Connecticut and the United States of America. Then, including the Scottish Americans, "The Peoples of Connecticut" can greet "The Peoples of Scotland." Both diverse cultures provide the framework for finding out what it means to declare, as we Americans do, "E Pluribus Unum."

SCOTTISH AMERICAN FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CONNECTICUT

Daughters of Scotia Lodges

Daughters of Scotia, Ellen Douglas Lodge #8
Castle Hall, 119 Park Road, West Hartford, second and fourth Tues.
Secretary: Mrs. Mary McKinnon, 692 Bloomfield Avenue
Bloomfield, Ct. 06002 242-8974

Daughters of Scotia, Lady McAlpine Lodge #70
V.F.W. Hall, 1338 Baldwin Street, Waterbury, third Tues.
Secretary: Mrs. Elizabeth Young, 56 Garthwait Road
Wolcott, Ct. 06716 879-0203

Daughters of Scotia, Lady MacDonald Lodge #23
Elks Hall, East Main Street, Ansonia, second Monday
Secretary: Mrs. Mary Steven, 70 Woodlawn Avenue #51
Ansonia, Ct. 06401 734-3036

Daughters of Scotia, Lady MacKenzie Lodge #68
Women's Club, 45 Prospect Street, Stamford, first and third Wed.
Secretary: Mrs. Jessie McFadden, 264 East Bruce Park Avenue
Greenwich, Ct. 06830 661-8894

Daughters of Scotia, Lady Strathcone Lodge #61
Congregational Church, Monument St., Groton, first Wednesday
Secretary: Mrs. Lavina L. Downie, 30 Greentree Drive
Waterford, Ct. 06385 442-6979

Daughters of Scotia, Lady Wallace Lodge
Meets at the members' homes in Hartford and New Britain, second Tuesday
Secretary: Miss Martha Gibson, 213 Southington Road
Kensington, Ct. 06037 828-1249

Order of Scottish Clans

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan Cameron #154

Secretary: Mr. Duncan Silver, 132 Squire Street
New London, Ct. 06320

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan Campbell #24
Loyalty Hall, 110 Park Avenue, Bridgeport, second and fourth Friday
Secretary: Mr. G. Donald Potter
P.O. Box 262
Stratford, Ct. 06497

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan Douglas #130
Stanley Memorial Church, East Street, New Britain, second Tues.
Secretary: Mr. James B. Pattison, 1601 Main Street
Newington, Ct. 06111

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan Gordon #19
Castle Hall, 119 Park Road, Hartford, second Tues.
Secretary: Mr. James Campbell, 32 Merrill Street
Hartford, Ct. 06106

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan MacDonald #173
, Ansonia
Secretary: Mr. Thomas Fisher, 4 Birchwood Drive
Ansonia, Ct. 06401

Order of Scottish Clans, Clan MacLeod #31
Pythian Hall, West Haven, second and fourth Thursday
Secretary: Mr. Willie O. Connor, 32 Rosette Street
New Haven, Ct. 06519

Order of Scottish Clans,
Women's Club, 45 Prospect Street, Stamford, first Friday
Secretary: Mr. Robert F. Wilson, 2 Cottage Place
Greenwich, Ct. 06830

Round Hill Scottish Games Association
P.O. Box 271, Greenwich, Ct. 06830

British American Club, Inc.
73 Maple Street, Manchester, Ct. 06040 649-8049